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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-178 *14 September 1995*

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NATO at Impasse on Bosnia Peace Implementation

AU1309184995 Paris AFP in English
1832 GMT 13 Sep 95

[by Angus MacKinnon]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Brussels, Sept 13 (AFP)—NATO powers failed to agree Wednesday on how to implement a possible peace agreement in Bosnia once it has been accepted by the warring factions in the former Yugoslav republic, alliance sources said.

The NATO Council gathered for lengthy "preliminary discussions" on peace implementation amid signs the allies are close to calling off their controversial bombardment of the Bosnian Serbs, but could only agree to meet again Thursday afternoon for further discussions, sources said.

A senior NATO diplomat told AFP the alliance could possibly agree within "two or three days" on a way out of the impasse created by the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to remove their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

UN envoy Yasushi Akashi also indicated in Zagreb that a political solution was in the works.

Akashi did not give more details but NATO diplomatic sources indicated that a deal could be done without Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic complying fully with NATO's demand for a total withdrawal of his big guns.

Pressure within NATO for a compromise deal is growing in light of the failure of the two-week bombing campaign to bring Mladic to heel or to destroy his artillery, and the increasing tensions it has created with Russia, diplomats said.

The option of a major escalation of the campaign to include attacks on Bosnian Serb troops and industrial targets throughout Bosnia has been ruled out. This would require, but never obtain, UN political approval, and even within NATO, a majority of capitals oppose this option.

Britain, France, Greece and Italy are understood to be taking the more "dovish" line while the United States continues to lead the hawks who believe the current campaign needs more time.

A U.S. source however confirmed that Mladic would not necessarily have to pull the big guns back if his "military capacity had been sufficiently degraded by the bombing of ammunition dumps and communication lines which supply the artillery."

That was not yet the case however, the source emphasised.

A NATO official said that the ambassadors' talks on a peace plan represented a "very early consideration of NATO's role."

NATO's planning would be built around an assumption that a NATO-led peace implementation force, including U.S. ground troops, would replace the UN peacekeepers.

The force, which would include a significant number of troops from Moslem countries such as Pakistan and Turkey, would be charged with preventing ceasefire violations and contributing to reconstruction work, according to initial ideas floated Wednesday.

U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry said Tuesday that the United States could contribute between 15,000 and 18,000 troops to such a force. Russia, which has complained about being sidelined from events in Bosnia, would also be offered a major role.

NATO sources, anxious to calm the storm in relations with Russia, dismissed reports that a secret memorandum between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation meant that the United Nations could not call a halt to the airstrikes unless NATO also agreed. [passage omitted]

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Berisha 'Extremely Satisfied' With Clinton Talks

AU1309142295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi on a news conference by President Sali Berisha at the White House on 12 September—recorded; Berisha's initial statement is in Albanian, but his answers to correspondents' questions are in English, with a superimposed Albanian translation; this part is transcribed from the English]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Muharremi] [Passage omitted] It is being stressed that during their meeting, Clinton and Berisha extensively discussed problems of bilateral relations, the political situation in the Balkan region, and Kosova issues, which has been stressed will be an important part of the Clinton-Berisha talks. [passage omitted]

President Berisha is now addressing a group of reporters, who have been very interested in following his visit to the United States. After a short greeting in English, President Berisha is addressing the U.S. media and Albanian reporters in Albanian:

[Berisha] I have just concluded my very important talk with President Clinton and have left extremely satisfied with the meeting, in which Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake were present. At my meeting with President Bill Clinton, we extensively discussed Albanian-U.S. relations and the situation in the region. I briefed President Clinton on the successes of the reforms. Clinton assured me of the powerful and multilateral support of him personally, the U.S. Administration, and institutions for consolidating the rule-of-law state and the market economy in Albania, creating a democratic space for Albanians wherever they are, and strengthening the overall economic, political, and military cooperation between our two countries.

I left the meeting with a conviction that a new page in the very good relations existing between our two countries has been turned today and I am very happy. I am also very grateful to my host for the invitation. Now in English.

[Unidentified correspondent] How was the meeting with President Clinton today?

[Berisha] It was a very important meeting. We have had a very friendly and open discussion about mutual Albanian-American cooperation in all different fields. I asked the assistance of the United States and President Clinton to support Albania's efforts in consolidation of market economy and rule of law. We have had today a discussion about the situation in the region. I agree that the last achievements and U.S. stand, which were very important, the [word indistinct] of diplomacy of Mr. Holbrooke, Geneva agreement, which is a good beginning to be implemented, and also [word indistinct] the NATO air strikes, which is known [word indistinct] a former idea of President Clinton's Administration, and they are now implemented. And I think that they are (?great).

[Unidentified correspondent] And the Kosova issue?

[Berisha] I think we arranged the Kosova issue and President assured me that the United States will fully support the restoration of human and national rights of Albanians in Kosova and wherever Albanians they are.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you raise the issue of the Greek-Albanian relations at the meeting?

[Berisha] You know, United States paid a real contribution to the improvement of Greek-Albanian relations. I was very thankful to... I thank President Clinton about his contribution in this respect and I assured him that Albania is very much interested for friendly relations with Greece and other neighbors.

[Unidentified correspondent] What do you think of the NATO continuous air strikes?

[Berisha] I think that [words indistinct] to contribute to peace and stability because these air strikes are undoing what the embargo did wrong.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you talk about your relationship with Turkey?

[Berisha] Our relationship with Turkey is very good and we talked about the regional situation and the United States are involved to contribute to decrease of tension in ... everywhere.

[Unidentified correspondent] What about the Greek minority in Albania?

[Berisha] The Greek minority in Albania is indeed a factor of friendship and other standard between our two nations and two countries.

[Unidentified correspondent] Any military cooperation?

[Berisha] Yes, definitely, we will increase the military cooperation with the United States. I am happy with what we have done, and a further step of this cooperation will be [words indistinct).

Thank you very much. Thank you. [passage omitted]

Press Reports on Meeting

AU1309153295

[FBIS Editorial Report] The Albanian press on 13 September gives extensive coverage of President

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Berisha's visit to the United States and his meeting with President Clinton.

RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, the paper of the ruling Democratic Party, carries a 1,000-word report on page 1 from correspondents Lorenc Ligori and Edi Paloka, entitled "Full U.S. Support for Democratic Processes in Albania," and with the subheads "Albania Granted a Further $45 Million," and "Economic Aid and Military Cooperation To Increase." The report includes the following statement to the Albanian press made by Berisha after his meeting with President Clinton:

"I can say that the meeting with President Clinton was exceptionally important. We discussed all the problems that interest us, both in bilateral relations and regional issues. President Clinton expressed full support for democratic developments in Albania. He expressed his commitment to contribute to further consolidating the rule of justice and the market economy, and his determination to expand aid to Albania. Specifically, he assured me that there will be a further $45 million in aid, besides some aid not included in this package.

"I think that we agreed with President Clinton to extend all-around cooperation, and he assured me that he will encourage American investors to come to Albania. Economic aid will be increased and military cooperation between the two countries will grow.

"I can say that I met with full understanding and found great determination on the part of President Clinton and his administration to help Albania. President Clinton said to me several times, 'Do not think that Albania, because it is a small country, does not have our great attention.' Regarding the issue of Kosovo, I insisted that it should be included on the agenda of the Contact Group, and President Clinton assured me of the full support of the United States until the human and national rights of the Albanians of Kosovo are fully restored."

The report goes on to describe Berisha's visit to the Holocaust Museum, stressing Albania's aid to Jewish fugitives in World War II, and mentions Berisha's meetings with representatives of the National Democratic Institute and the Heritage Foundation, and his meeting with CIA Director Deutsch, "which took place without journalists present."

ZERI I POPULLIT, the newspaper of the opposition Socialist Party, carries on page 1 an unattributed 250-word report entitled "President Clinton Receives President Berisha," with the subheads, "U.S. Officials Call the Talks Successful," and "President Berisha Promises the Americans More Military Bases." After quoting parts of Berisha's statement made after his meeting with the President, the report states, "During his meetings with U.S. officials on Monday (11 Sep), Berisha is said to have promised to place at the Americans' disposal a number of further Albanian military bases, which could be necessary for NATO operations in Bosnia."

The independent newspaper KOHA JONE, often critical of Berisha and vocal in support for the Socialist and Democratic Alliance parties, carries on page 3 a 700-word report from Ben Blushi in Washington, entitled "As Many Rights to the Minority as to Kosovo."

The report begins, "It has been learned that Clinton himself is interested in guaranteeing the Greek minority's freedom of religion, education, and employment. The other part of the conversation devoted to Kosovo stopped at the familiar point of respect for human rights. What Clinton has sought from Berisha for the Greeks in the south of Albania, he has promised to ask from Belgrade for Kosovo—i.e., human rights and freedoms."

According to the report, Clinton's requests on behalf of the Greek minority "was the only part of the conversation that might have taken the Albanian president somewhat aback."

The report goes on to describe Berisha's answers to the questions of mainly Greek journalists on leaving the White House, where he is reported as saying, "It was the U.S. Administration that helped to improve relations with Greece."

The report states, "Zbigniew Brzezinski, adviser to former President Carter, said on the day before the White House meeting that it is possible that Albania will become the United States' main military partner in the Balkans. Berisha said yesterday that military cooperation will increase in the future, too. Even on the surface, it is evident how important military relations are between Albania and Washington. President Berisha is expected to be accorded a ceremonial reception at the Pentagon today, perhaps the finest of his visit."

The independent left-of-center paper POPULLI PO carries on page 3 an unattributed 700-word correspondent's report entitled "Protocol Meeting Between Clinton and Berisha—Berisha: We Want Economic Aid."

The report states, "The Albanian president entered the White House with his ideas that are now familiar to all Albanians. Without any deviation from his usual practice, Berisha went on with his demands for economic aid for the reform and the market economy that is developing in Albania."

The report continues, "According to the White House, the case of the imprisoned Socialist leader was not discussed. Nano possibly merited a secret discussion

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between the two sides, but there is no certainty of such a thing having taken place. Regarding the recent problems of the Albanian judiciary," the report states, "it was confirmed that this issue was discussed, but there are no details."

Regarding the situation in the Balkans, the report states, "The role of Albania was discussed at length, but no precise idea from the U.S. side on solving the Albanian question became clear."

The report concludes, "After this meeting with his counterpart, which cannot be considered successful, Berisha went straight to his meeting with the pro-Albanian senator Bob Dole, a meeting which took place late in the evening. It was expected that the Albanian question was to be discussed at greater length at the meeting. Dole's theory about Kosovo as an autonomous province is familiar. It is not known what attitude the Albanian president took toward this theory."

Commentary on Meeting

AU1409083495 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 13 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Berisha: We Need Economic Aid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday afternoon, the Albanian president accomplished what he impatiently waited for: his meeting with the number one of the United States, Mr. Bill Clinton. The Albanian president went to the White House to present his theses, which are already known to all Albanians. In this meeting, which was more than ordinary, Berisha asked for economic aid for the economic reform and market economy in Albania. He pointed out that reform is developing rapidly, and its progress depends on American aid. The Albanian president presented to his American colleague the possibilities of U.S. investments in Albania. According to Berisha, all possibilities exist; moreover, Albania is needy. All this made up the introduction of the Albanian president's speech, which contained nothing new compared to what he said during his first visit three years ago. The only difference was that he was facing Clinton of the Democrats, and not Bush of the Republicans. Even at that time, the protagonist of the overthrow of communism in Albania presented the same demands to the protagonist of the overthrow of communism in East Europe. He asked for economic aid for Albania (as a specific case), and for U.S. investments. As it appears, Berisha's text did not change from that of three years ago. The Albanian president changed only his curriculum vitae. This time he is a president of three years and older than Clinton.

To Berisha's introduction of several minutes the Republican Clinton devoted only an opening sentence to reform in Albania, adding no comment. Afterward, the multi-President [as published], passed onto political issues in Albania, dwelling in detail on the situation in the Balkans. According to the White House, nothing was said in these talks about the imprisoned Socialist Party leader. Perhaps Nano was worth a secret meeting, but nothing of the sort appears to have happened.

Another political issue expected to be brought up in this meeting at the highest level for Albania were the latest incidents in the judicial system, which were discussed not only by the political forces in Albania, but also by the important international entities, including the Council of Europe. It was confirmed that this issue has been discussed, but no further details are known. Everything was expected to become known after the White House report, but things will become clearer by the president's attitude after his return.

Kosova was the most important issue, and it covered most of the meeting between the two presidents. Related to the situation in the Balkans, this issue was seen in relation to Albania's stand on the war in Bosnia and Serbia. Albania's role was discussed extensively, but no specific position was forwarded on a solution to the Albanian issue. More likely, Clinton might have presented some position before Berisha came to this issue, thus eleminating one of the weapons of the Albanian president. Anyway, the most positive position of U.S. policy on this issue is upheld by Senator Dole, who is known as a supporter of the Albanian cause. According to his position, Kosova is recognized as an autonomous region. Last night Berisha met Dole, but it is not known whether he approved of the advanced U.S. position on Kosova or not. Another point which was discussed in the Clinton-Berisha meeting was relations with Greece. Clinton expressed his interest in the development of relations between the two neighbouring countries, dwelling on several details. President Clinton was also interested in Albania's relations with other Balkan neighbours and Berisha made a detailed account. The way the meeting was conducted enabled the chief of U.S. policy to avoid expressing his position on these issues. Clinton expressed no opinion about the events between Albania and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

After the meeting with his counterpart, which cannot be considered successful, Berisha went to meet with the pro-Albanian Senator Dole. It was expected that the Albanian issue would be discussed more extensively. Dole's position on the autonomous region of Kosova is already known. Nothing is known about the reaction of the Albanian president to this position.

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Article Condemns Anti-American Tracts in Tirana

AU1309161095 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 13 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Mentor Shehu: "Underground Communist Groups Revived"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha's current visit to the United States and its results have apparently hurt the secret forces of communism. Facts show that they have gone underground and are working intensively to create an anti-American atmosphere.

This is entirely in accord with communist logic. For them, the United States remains "U.S. imperialism," and they can never reconcile themselves to its presence in Albania. As the antinational fanatics of proletarian internationalism that they are, people without a homeland can never accept this reality of pro-American-Albanian policies, precisely because such a policy is in favor of Albanian national interests.

They are terrified by the strengthening of democracy, the rule of law, and the successful development of a free market economy. This is why they are against the United States, which is sincerely helping Albania. Last night, a group of highly disgusted citizens brought to our office a communist tract thrown about the streets of Tirana, which announced, "Americans out of Albania," and was signed by the RKAFSH [Albanian Communist Antifascist Youth]. This shows that sections of the opposition are included in the forces of the extreme left, and, as in 1941, have begun underground work with infamous communist tracts. It is not accidental that this tract is being distributed during the visit paid by Mr. Berisha, the president of the democratic state of Albania, to the United States. Comment would be superfluous.

Those who have distributed this tract, and the demagogues of the opposition who hide behind them, must realize that the ghost of communism in Albania cannot return. These contortions are the death rattle of former Sigurimi snoops, lackeys of the Red nomenklatura. The anticommunist United States has been and will remain a sincere friend of Albania, whether some phantoms of the dead past wish it or not.

The democratic people appeal to you! Give up such provocative behavior before it is too late, and do not try the patience of democracy.

Your voices are crying in the wilderness. They are nothing but a sin. Albania today has laws that condemn such anticonstitutional behavior, which will not be slow in punishing you.

The United States has been and will remain present in Albania. It is you left-wing communist extremists who must get out, because you brought Albania nothing but horror, tears, suffering, and death. We do not forget these things. But you must remember them every day, too.

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Iraq's Ahmad: U.S. Part of Colossal Provocation

AU1409101395 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 8 Sep 95 p 9

[Interview with Mohammad Amin Ahmad, Iraqi ambassador in Sofia, by Svilen Mishlyakov; place and date not given: "Saddam's Son-in-Law Was Duped by the CIA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mishlyakov] Mr. Ambassador, almost a month has passed since some of the most highly placed individuals in Iraq fled the country, thus placing your country once again in the epicenter of world tension. How would you recapitulate this event today?

[Ahmad] The Iraqi people have once again been subjected to a test. Let us remember that the United Nations was about to respond to our insistent demands to lift the embargo. At the end of August, the world organization was due to announce its views concerning the information that we provided for it on our programs for various types of weapons. Once again, the United States and its allies intervened, and the CIA tried to play a winning card.

This is nothing new. Always when we are on the point of achieving even a partial international success, sinister new figures pop up in the forefront, as if out of thin air. The provocation involving Husayn Kemal, his brother, and other puppets has its origin at the beginning of last year, when this national traitor went to Amman for treatment. There certain individuals made contact with him, promising him that, whatever he may believe, one day he would be in command. It must be well known that, as the supervisor of many important programs, he hid secrets from th. president with the intention of taking them abroad at a convenient time. There is absolutely no truth in the claim made by his brother Saddam Kemal, the other son-in-law, that he was a colonel general and commanded the Republican Guard. He is a captain, had extremely limited influence, and served in his brother's bodyguard.

[Mishlyakov] A lot has been written about the Iraqi opposition, which is supposed to have directed the affair....

[Ahmad] This is another main feature of the provocation plot. All kinds of parties, such as the Islamic Party, the National Iraqi Party, and others, consist of a handful of people and, when asked, cannot even provide a permanent headquarters or address. They have absolutely no influence in the country, although tens of millions of dollars have been squandered on them. Moreover, they fight with each other. Now they have again raised their heads but, as THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, the events have already blown over and no provocation will take place against Iraq.

[Mishlyakov] In Bulgaria, people fear that the debt of almost $2 billion that you have to repay will remain merely on paper.

[Ahmad] Irrespective of any situations that may occur, we will fulfill our obligations and pay our debt as we have agreed. No changes will have any effect. This must be clearly understood. We have had excellent relations for over 30 years, and the visit by your Deputy Prime Minister Tsochev, who came to Baghdad for the meetings of the Mixed Bulgarian-Iraqi Commission on Economic, Technoscientific, and Cultural Cooperation, went off in this spirit. During his visit we signed many important protocols that will lead to substantial investment.

[Mishlyakov] Are Massud Barzani's and Djelal Talabani's organizations deliberately fanning the flame of the Kurdish question in Iraq?

[Ahmad] The artificially fomented Kurdish problem is another part of the spectrum of the colossal provocation against Iraq. Since the Ba'ath Party assumed power, the Kurds in Iraq have had autonomy. Kurdish is an obligatory language for study in all Iraqi schools. The Kurds have their own television, universities, and varied cultural life; many eminent Kurds serve in high state posts. I myself am a Kurd.

Commentaries on Russian Minister's Visit

Show of Mutual Realism, Pragmatism

AU1409111995 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 95 p 7

[Commentary by Ivanka Khlebarova: "Reality Dominates in Bulgarian-Russian Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the visit to Bulgaria by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, a sober analysis was made of each side's positions and interests in the context of the priorities placed on each of them. The two delegations tried impartially and objectively to define the fields and issues on which their positions coincide or are very close. At the meeting with Prime Minister Videnov it was confirmed that, as a result of this analytical approach, one may state that the prospects are good for activating relations in all the five fields of cooperation that were covered during the talks: the development of bilateral relations, the Yugoslav crisis, the architecture of the new European security system, Black Sea economic cooperation, and certain specific issues of cooperation in the Danube commission

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and relating to navigation in the Black Sea straits, as Minister Pirinski acknowledged.

A similarity exists in the two countries' approaches to the most topical regional and European problems. Kozyrev assured us that in Bulgaria Russia has a reliable partner in the Balkans, a partner who follows realistic policies. At the moment, this is the reason why Moscow, which is attempting to play a more active part in resolving the Yugoslav conflict, is seeking Bulgaria's views as one of the countries located in the immediate vicinity of the conflict. This constitutes a new element in the Russian position regarding countries like Bulgaria. To this it should be added that both countries are striving to cooperate in developing the architecture of the new European security system and in working together in various world forums.

During Kozyrev's talks it was confirmed that both countries are trying to develop a realistic, balanced, and, at the same time, positive position aimed at finding the most acceptable, lasting, and just solutions to the crisis in Bosnia. Our side stressed Bulgaria's initiative in promoting the accelerated development of the economic factor in the Balkans, using our regional infrastructure as a factor for giving an impetus to the economic processes and for consolidating stability in the region.

Minister Kozyrev's visit is a continuation of the dialogue with Moscow that started with the visits of President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, a dialogue that is governed by the pragmatism and realism in the two countries' foreign policies.

Invitation to Videnov 'a Summons'

AU1409081495 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Petur Karaboev: "Moscow Urgently Summons Videnov"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—If Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had not let out the information at his news conference on 8 September, we would never have known that the Bulgarian prime minister will be visiting Moscow in only 10 days time. The final communique on Kozyrev's visit does not include a single word about this undoubtedly important event in our bilateral relations, and the early date set by the Russians sounds more like a summons.

The first official visit by the Russian foreign minister to Bulgaria ended on 8 September after his meeting with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, final talks with his Bulgarian counterpart Georgi Pirinski, and the issuing of a communique on the results of the visit. The contents and import of the three-page communique were summed up by Kozyrev in a single sentence: "Bulgaria is one of the top priorities of Russian foreign policy. This is nothing new, as it has been the case for the last few centuries and the prospects remain the same for the near future and the next few centuries, because here the geopolitical factor plays a role, at the very least." According to an adviser at the Bulgarian Presidency, this statement and Videnov's summons to Moscow were made because the Balkans is the only place where Russia is able to return to big-time politics.

After the signing of the two documents on 7 September, the visit produced no further concrete results, but as the final news conference led us to understand, this was not the purpose of Kozyrev's visit. His meeting here in fact represented the third phase of formulating our bilateral relations following the visits by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in 1992 and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin earlier this year. The latest visit marked the launch of bilateral foreign policy cooperation between sovereign states, each with its own interests and special features, Kozyrev explained, adding that differences in views between Moscow and Sofia are something quite normal, because anything else would mean a return to the past.

It appears that the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry managed to avoid committing itself to condemning the NATO air strikes in Bosnia, because the communique contains no such passage. It reiterates the well-known position on seeking a political solution to the crisis, in parallel with a gradual lifting of the sanctions. Pirinski also explained how Bulgaria contributes to security in the region; because it is in the immediate vicinity of the conflict, Sofia avoids committing itself to proposing its own initiatives and treats the warring parties equally. On the other hand, Pirinski said, the Bulgarians are consolidating security in the peninsula with their initiatives relating to large-scale regional projects, from which all will benefit. However, Pirinski complained that it seems that we have found ourselves placed at the opposite extreme: No one asks us for our views and no one even informs us about the work of the Contact Group or the progress of the peace process. It did not emerge whether Pirinski's own ministry had been persistent enough in its approaches to those who are able to keep it informed.

The carefully drafted final document does not even mention NATO, and the two ministers explained this by saying that a new European security system is now being elucidated and NATO's role in it is still to be determined. However, while Pirinski declared that the North Atlantic alliance is among our priorities in seeking guarantees for our national security, Kozyrev accused NATO of responding inadequately to the demands of modern Europe and of engaging in arbitrary acts, and recalled

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that the pact had, nevertheless, been formed at other times and for different purposes.

The two sides stressed how important it was not to allow new lines of division to appear in Europe and agreed to apply the principle of "jointly developing" a European security model. This principle, they said, is also followed in the OSCE, which, it is well known, Moscow proposes as an antithesis to NATO as a bulwark for the future model of stability on the continent.

Daily Claims To Identify Arrested NSS Officer

AU1409123295 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 9 Sep 95 p 3

[TRUD staff report: "Major From National Security Service Arrested for Involvement in 300,000 Leva Racket"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The arrested officer of the National Security Service [NSS] was caught trying to extort money from a businessman in Sofia, a source in the Palace of Justice announced on 8 September. According to unofficial information, the arrested man is Major P. Petrov. The NSS refused to give the name of the detainee, in order not to obstruct the course of the investigation.

Until the investigation into the case is concluded, the name of the person arrested will not be announced, Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev said yesterday. He merely added that the arrested counterintelligence officer works in Sofia and is from the lower levels of the NSS hierarchy.

According to another source, the officer was allegedly caught red-handed by law officers taking possession of 100,000 leva in a Sofia coffee house. The banknotes had been previously marked. The special operation is reported to have been painstakingly mounted after the police had received a tipoff about an attempt to extort money from a businessman. The officer is supposed to have approached a member of a Russian group and demanded a bribe of 300,000 leva, payable in two installments if necessary. The corrupt officer has reportedly been employed in the NSS for one year and had been under investigation by the special services for several months. According to the source, Interior Minister Nachev personally approved the plan to investigate the Interior Ministry employee, after learning that the case concerned bribery and corruption. However, this case is reportedly not connected with Colonel Stamo Stamov, the top mafia-fighter in the Varna police, who was arrested on 25 August. According to a senior NSS official, the corrupt counterintelligence office can expect to be dismissed and may land in prison if he is found guilty in court.

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Holan: Yeltsin's NATO Remarks 'Strong Words'

AU1409111495 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 9 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by "(fp)": "Vilem Holan Considers the Statements by Russian President Yeltsin To Be 'Strong Words'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Following his return from Italy, Defense Minister Vilem Holan described the statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin that NATO enlargement will lead to a European war as "strong words." As he said, he does not think it is appropriate when small states are spoken about from a position of strength.

"It is apparent that NATO enlargement does not concern the democratic forces in Russia," said Holan. According to him, it is fitting that NATO discusses relations with Russia and takes into consideration its size, specific features, and military potential. "However, the process of the alliance's enlargement must also be considered concurrently. Yeltsin's statement itself does not change anything in this situation," added Holan.

Minister Holan also discussed NATO affiliation "very thoroughly" with his Italian counterpart, Domenico Corcione. They agreed that "immediate entry into NATO is not necessary, but it is extremely necessary that we know for certain when this will take place because this will be a moment of stabilization. It will even be far easier to expand our relationship with the East when we have a certain security bedrock," added the minister.

Holan on Army Modernization, UN Unit in Croatia

AU1409111295 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan by Ferdinand Peroutka; place and date not given: "We Do Not Have the Millions Needed for a Purchase of Modern Jet Fighters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with Defense Minister Vilem Holan, we asked about the situation of the Czech unit in Croatia, the minister's view on the future development of the Balkan conflict, the priorities of Army modernization, and the share of Czech firms in military supply contracts.

[Peroutka] How would you assess the situation of our unit in the former Yugoslavia following the first Czech casualties?

[Holan] They were the first Czech soldiers to lose their lives in combat. Both our soldiers died carrying out their tasks in the peace mission. Most of their friends—soldiers and officers—have been deeply touched by this event and had to come to terms with it, both as human beings and as soldiers. I believe that this experience markedly affects the character of the unit. The situation in the area of the deployment of our battalion has quieted down, and the gradual removal of the observation and control points is taking place.

[Peroutka] So has a decision been made regarding the return of the Czech unit?

[Holan] The UN Security Council has decided that UN units will remain in Croatia only in the eastern Slavonia region. That is where the Belgians and Russians are operating, and there is no reason to transfer the Czech unit to that area. On the contrary, we expect the return of our entire battalion as early as in the first half of October. An exception will be some 150 soldiers, who will be singled out to help transport a great quantity of equipment and who will return after this task is completed—that is, after the main body of the battalion.

[Peroutka] Has civilian life recovered in the location of the deployment of the battalion?

[Holan] The Croatian authorities are currently building their own infrastructure and are establishing police stations and local offices. Sporadic gunfire by Croatian soldiers was reported as recently as last week. The original Croatian inhabitants are returning to the region.

[Peroutka] What is your opinion on the future development of the conflict following the NATO air attacks on the Bosnian Serb positions?

[Holan] Regarding Croatia, I believe the problem there has been solved because Croatia will now be able to protect its borders as the borders of an internationally recognized state. Of course, the situation is different in Bosnia, where the world community responded forcibly only under the impression of the Sarajevo massacre. That the United Nations resorted to this step is understandable, and it should reestablish the authority of this organization. It also should bring the opposing parties back to the negotiation table.

[Peroutka] The so-called acquisition plan has been frequently mentioned in connection with the modernization of the Army. According to this plan, 120 million korunas [Kc] is to be invested by 2005. Has the government officially accepted this document?

[Holan] The acquisition plan was first drafted in 1994, when it included all of the summary data on the innovative activities of the Army. Because of the limited resources, even at this beginning stage, it included only the 300 most important projects of the approximately

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3,000 original ones. For basic orientation: The investment in the modernization of the Czech Republic Army amounted to approximately Kc120 billion. This amount was based on the forecast development of financial resources, assuming an allocation of 2.5 percent of the GDP to the Defense Ministry. The alternative acquisition plan, taking into account the budgetary possibilities of the army in 1995, was submitted only as information for the prime minister and selected Cabinet ministers.

[Peroutka] How will the Army deal with the discrepancy between the planned cost of the development projects and the budgetary possibilities?

[Holan] The draft acquisition plan exceeded the financial abilities of the Defense Ministry budget chapter. Priorities and criteria were therefore defined for the most important needs of Army modernization. The reduced plan contains some 130 items, 15 of which are crucial. These 15 also represent 85 percent of the total volume of investment funds for modernization.

[Peroutka] Which areas of modernization are top priority, and how will Czech industry participate in them?

[Holan] We believe the information systems, then the construction and purchase of L-159 aircraft, the basis for the restoration of the Air Force. The modernization of the MiG-21 is also certainly a high priority unless a another solution is found, and the modernization of the T-72 tank. All of these programs are very extensive and spread over several years. Most of them have been launched this year, but we must have a guarantee that they will continue in the coming years. Regarding the share of Czech industry in the modernization of the Air Force, for instance, we see the decision to purchase the domestic L-159 aircraft as the point of departure. We combine here the modernization and renovation of the Air Force with help for Czech industry. Similar is the case of the modernization of the T-72 tank, in which, according to the results of the public tender, five Czech and four foreign firms are to participate.

[Peroutka] When is the purchase of modern foreign fighter jets expected?

[Holan] The purchase of L-159 aircraft will take place in the years 1998 to 2003, which means that, without a significant boost in the budget, we cannot purchase the F-16, the Mirage, or similar aircraft during that time. Because no significant boost to the budget can be expected before 1998, either, it is obvious that, in the near future, we can either achieve a very parsimonious modernization of something we have or nothing. Because of the expected price of the modernized MiG at about KC83 million and the prices of new F-16 and Mirage-2000 aircraft at between Kc700 and 1,000 million, the purchase of the latter is not realistic. The annual operational costs also speak in favor of the MiG, inasmuch as it is approximately 50 percent lower than Western aircraft. We are continuing our search for an alternative solution. The fundamental refurbishment of the supersonic air force is not even included in the acquisition plan and is not expected before 2005.

Defense Committee Members Favor F-18 Aircraft

AU1409085495 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by "(fp)": "The Czech Army Is Deciding Between Russian MiG's and U.S. F-18's"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Not only Defense Minister Vilem Holan but also certain deputies from the Defense and Security Committee have welcomed the offer of older U.S. F-18 A Hornet fighter aircraft as one of the possible options for modernizing the Air Force.

Tomas Fejfar and Jan Kramek (both Civic Democratic Party) have said that the U.S. offer would be a far better solution than modernizing the MiG's, but their colleague Miroslav Capek (Left Bloc) has declared that the Russian MiG-29 aircraft are "better than the U.S. F-16 or F-18 aircraft."

The multipurpose F-18 aircraft are among of the most efficient U.S. tactical aircraft, and they could be incorporated into the Czech Air Force as fighter aircraft, fighter-bombers, and tactical reconnaissance aircraft. They are intended to destroy ground and surface targets using conventional and nuclear munitions, and, because they are designed for aircraft carriers, they require a very short runway for takeoff and landing. Although the Defense Ministry is keeping quiet about the cost of the F-18 A Hornet aircraft at the moment, according to a recent statement by Minister Holan, the cost of the secondhand U.S. fighters should be between 127 and 540 million korunas [Kc], which is about one-fifth of the cost of new aircraft.

As far as the most modern Russian MiG-29 aircraft—of which the Czech Army has 10 but is not considering for the future—are concerned, Petr Fuzak from the Defense Ministry press service told DENNI TELEGRAF that their operating costs alone until the end of their service lives—that is, up to the year 2010—would amount to Kc4.8 billion. According to him, to guarantee the state's defense capability, it is necessary for it to have at its disposal at least two squadrons—that is, 24 aircraft.

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Ministry Documents Vindicate T-72 Tender Process

AU1309133595 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 8

[Article by Vitezslav Kulich: The Defense Ministry: Italians Offered Us the Best Conditions in the T-72 Tank Tender"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Italian Officine Galileo company has made the best offer in the tender for the T-72 tank fire-control system. It was the only bidder, for instance, prepared to transfer its know-how to the Czech Republic. Of the amount that the Army will pay the Italians, 58 percent will go on foreign equipment and 42 percent on supplies shipped by the Czech firms selected by Officine Galileo.

This is indicated by documentation of the Defense Ministry intended for the economy ministers, which RUDE PRAVO has managed to obtain. According to the documentation, the modernization of the Soviet T-72 tank will cost the Army more than 10.7 billion korunas. This will bring it to a standard comparable to that of West European countries. At the same time, the modernization will cost three times less than a purchase of new machines. The project is coordinated by the Vojensky Opravarensky Podnik (VOP, Military Repair Workshop) Novy Jicin, the only holder of the T-72 technical documentation in the Czech Republic. This firm has approached a total of 39 domestic and foreign firms. Of these, 24 entered the nine tenders. Although five of the firms paid the required deposit in time, the transfer to the Defense Ministry account delayed the payment. Therefore, they were included in the competition despite the delay.

The seven-member expert commission then recommended five domestic and four foreign companies: Officine Galileo of Italy (for the fire-control system), PCO Warsaw (radiation detector/actuator), Meopta Prerov (night-vision equipment), Kidde Deugra of Germany (fire-extinguishing system), Mesit Uherske Hradiste (tank intercom equipment), Synthesia Pardubice (ammunition), Letecke Pristroje Prague (navigational instruments), Metra Blansko (electromagnetic "tral" [word unknown]), and Nimda of Israel (driving mechanism and transmission).

Several rejected firms raised objections to these tenders. Skoda Plzen remonstrated against letting Nimda of Israel in the tender because the deposit transfer did not meet the deadline. The unsuccessful French firm Sagem accused Army officials of corruption in its recent letter to Czech ministers. Therefore, at the request of the defense minister, the tenders should be looked into by the Defense Ministry Inspectorate and the Ministry for Economic Competition.

Nevertheless, the documentation that RUDE PRAVO has at its disposal contradicts press reports that the expert teams unequivocally recommended the bid of the French firm Sagem. Namely, according to the Defense Ministry, the recommendation from the research institutes, universities, and other specialists was not straightforward, and no uncontestable conclusion could be drawn. It admits, however, that the bids were relatively close. That is corroborated by the decisionmaking of the seven-member commission, which gave five votes to the Italian Officine Galileo and two to the French Sagem. According to the ministry, it is also not true that two members of the commission were replaced during the tender (after they voted for Sagem in the first round). The composition of the commission was never changed, the documentation states. There was only one round of voting, and that was in the third session of the commission. The first session was taken up by administrative work, and the second resulted in a short list of the firms for the next round. Moreover, the ministry denies reports that the Italian system designed for the other side of the tank cannot be used in the T-72 tank. Namely, almost all of the systems offered are designed for the other side of the tank, as is common in West European tanks. The documentation also refutes all doubts regarding the unsuitability of the use of Officine Galileo equipment in Soviet tanks. The Defense Ministry documentation also deals with the bid of the Israeli firm Nimda, which, according to some sources, offers an English engine, meaning that the entire tank will have to be rebuilt at a very high cost. According to the commission, no bid submitted requires rebuilding the engine-transmission space. The most alterations would have been entailed by the bid submitted by Skoda Plzen.

'Party Influence' Ruled Out

AU1309121795 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Sep 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Stanislav Belehradek Rules Out Party Influence in the Tender for the Modernization of the T-72 Tank"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I cannot imagine that I would try to influence the outcome of a review procedure," said Economic Competition Minister Stanislav Belehradek yesterday in connection with the "increasing politicization" of the modernization of the T-72 tank. According to the minister, it is "a sheer coincidence that the party affiliation of the ministers for economic competition and defense are the same."

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Belehradek emphasized that party affiliation must not influence the outcome of the investigation that Defense Minister Vilem Holan asked his ministry for last week. The director of the Economic Competition Ministry [MHS] branch regulating public tenders, which will issue a primary-level decision in the administrative proceeding, has nothing to do with the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, explained Belehradek. He also said that his ministry asked the military repair shop in Novy Jicin to send background materials on Monday, 28 August. Vilem Holan turned to the MHS only a day later with a request to look into this matter. According to Belehradek, the materials from the Novy Jicin plant, which is the promulgator of the public tender, have not yet been delivered. "I personally recommend that such major public tenders be discussed at a consultative meeting of the economic ministers so that the final touches are put to the assignment there because, in a way, the assignment may predetermine the further development of the selection procedure and may also predetermine the participation of Czech companies in this tender," said the minister. Four foreign and five domestic companies were selected in a public tender on 10 August for the tank's modernization. The objections to the results of the competition concerned the tender from the Israeli NIMDA company (transmission) and the Italian OFFICINE GALILEO company (fire control system). The chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, Vladimir Suman, yesterday received the point of view of the Defense Ministry on the outcome of the competition to modernize the T-72 tank. He refused to give any details, however, until the committee members are acquainted with its contents, but he did say that he asked Minister Holan in writing for more detailed information.

EU Litigation Predicted

AU1409100395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(km)": "The Company Successful in the Tank Tender Is To Sue Its Rival"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The controversial arms tender to modernize the outdated Soviet T-72 tanks, the regularity of which has been under investigation by several offices since last week, has reached the stage where it will end up in court.

That is, the Italian company Officine Galileo, which won the most lucrative part of the tender to supply the fire control system, has decided to lodge a complaint with the appropriate EU commission against its rival, the French Sagem company, for conducting competition unfairly. The French finished second in the tender. After the results of the selection procedure were announced, they sent a protest letter to some members of the Klaus Cabinet, in which they cast doubt on the quality of their Italian rival. Among other things, they alleged that Galileo was in a desperate economic situation and that the Italians have failed utterly in the project for their national tank, the Ariete.

According to experts in arms production and the arms trade, a situation in which arms manufacturers get as far as court proceedings over a dispute about an army tender is not, on a global scale, a common occurrence.

"Whoever loses is fully entitled to complain. Complaints are, however, acceptable only to a certain extent, and that has already been exceeded. Consequently, our company has been forced to proceed against the Sagem company by legal means," said Officine Galileo's director general, Ignazio de Falco, yesterday.

The Italian company's management denies claims that the Rome government has suspended the project for the new Ariete tank, on which their fire-control system is being fitted. "This third-generation tank has already been in serial production for more than a year," said de Falco.

The company has also taken exception to other information in the Sagem company's protest letter, that the Italian arms manufacturer is in a serious economic situation. According to a statement from its management, Officine Galileo has concluded contracts for the next three years. The company's annual turnover last year amounted to the equivalent of 3.3 billion korunas [Kc]. The financial difficulties of Efim Holding, of which Galileo was until recently a part, have had no significant effect on the company. Galileo is now in the Finmeccanica holding company, whose annual turnover corresponds to almost Kc200 billion.

Officine Galileo is also an important supplier of instruments for the space industry. The SOHO and Environmental satellites, for example, are equipped with its products. Similarly, the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, NASA, has assigned one of the most important parts of equipping the "Cassini" program to this Italian manufacturer.

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KDH Official Gives Details of Attack on Street

LD1309152495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] gave a special news conference today about the incident that took place last night on Hajdukova Street in Bratislava when Frantisek Miklosko, the KDH chairman and deputy at the Slovak National Council, was attacked and beaten up. Marian (?Skotka) reports:

[(?Skotka]) [Passage omitted] Frantisek Miklosko gave further details of the attack. He said that on Monday morning he noticed two men hanging around his home. When he went out, he saw that they were following him. Last night, before 2100, when he was trying to get home, another unknown man prevented him from entering the house. Miklosko was then confronted by two other men whom he recognized from the previous day. They started to beat him. When he fell down, they kicked him in the chest and the head. Then they ran away. Frantisek Miklosko described them as strong and (?well dressed); one had a darker complexion but was not a Romany, the other was paler and had blonde hair. Frantisek Miklosko then called for help. At this point, people looking out of nearby windows saw part of the incident. The deputy was not robbed. The assailants allegedly did not utter a word.

Frantisek Miklosko expressed his conviction that this was a professionally planned action.

[Announcer] Did Deputy Miklosko hint at any possible motives?

[Skotka] Frantisek Miklosko thought there was a connection between the assault and the KDH statements on the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Junior and the need for a thorough investigation of the case. He said he could think of no other motive apart from political ones because he is involved only in politics and has no personal disagreement with people. However, he praised the speedy and willing action of the police after he asked them for help last night.

Questioning of SIS Members on Kidnapping Disallowed

AU1309133495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Report by TASR, CTK, and NARODNA OBRODA correspondents: "Lexa Will Not Accommodate Simunic's Request To Relieve Some Slovak Information Service Members of their Vow of Silence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak Information Service [SIS] Director Ivan Lexa provided to TASR a copy of his letter to Jaroslav Simunic, investigator of the Bratislava Police Corps Regional Office of Investigations, who had been charged with investigating the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad. In a letter of 7 September, Simunic had asked Lexa to relieve some SIS members of their vow of silence in connection with the investigation of the above case. In his reply, Ivan Lexa states, among other things:

"In response to your request regarding the investigation of the circumstances of Michal Kovac Jr.'s detention by Austrian state bodies on 31 August, in which you asked that SIS members and other persons cooperating with SIS be generally relieved of their vow of silence, I inform you that I will not accommodate your request. I consider your request to be inadequate in the legal, practical, and professional sense. If I relieved SIS members and the network of SIS agents of their obligation to maintain secrecy, SIS would be generally declassified [dekonspiracia], and the state interests of the Slovak Republic would be damaged.

"I subscribe to your view that 'the case is being misused by the political opposition and the mass media, and a negative climate for SIS's activity is being established.' In my opinion, speculation of various kinds is being nourished also by the unprofessional approach by some designated investigators of the case in informing the public, by information leaks from the documents of the case, and by the publication of some top secret information.

"These facts, some of which have a criminal character, could have a negative influence on the course and the results of the investigation. [passage omitted]

"SIS provided, and continues to provide, the Slovak Ministry of Interior and the investigating bodies with much information regarding the case, and I assure you that the clarification of this case is also in the interest of SIS."

Peter Vacok in Lieu of Jaroslav Simunic

Following an agreement with the director of the Bratislava Police Corps Regional Office of Investigations, Major Peter Vacok was entrusted with the investigation of the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad and appointed head of the special investigating team on Friday, 8 September. Vacok took over the documents related to the case and, during the weekend, started working on the clarification of this criminal case. It is not known whether Jaroslav Simunic, the former investigator, had copies of the file made. This matter is currently the subject of investigation. Should this turn out to be the case, he will be asked to hand over the copies. According to Vladimir

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Lamacka, vice president of the Slovak Republic Police Corps, no decision has been made regarding Jaroslav Simunic's request to have his contract of employment terminated as of 30 September.

Jaroslav Simunic: The Intelligence Game Continues

"Several indications suggest that the kidnapping of the president's son was carried out according to the appropriate manuals used in intelligence schools," Jaroslav Simunic told Radio TWIST yesterday. He added that he had decided to speak to the media because, on Monday of last week [4 September], in keeping with those manuals, Slovak Television [STV] launched a disinformation campaign. The intelligence game continues (with STV's involvement), in his opinion. He also pointed out that information was released on the "Press Club" on 5 September that is not contained in the documents of the case. According to Simunic, there exists no other explanation but that he who disseminated this information either himself participated in the kidnapping or received this information from the perpetrators.

Jaroslav Simunic pointed out that he would carry on the investigation on his own and that another—that is, the official—investigator could very well identify other perpetrators. "The prime minister will perhaps continue the investigations himself and will also identify other perpetrators. In that case it will be up to an independent court to decide who really committed this crime," he added. [passage omitted]

SIS Director Initiates Prosecution by General Prosecutor's Office

SIS Director Ivan Lexa sent a letter to Slovak Prosecutor General Michal Valo asking him to investigate circumstances indicating that several crimes have been committed. He demands that "prosecution be initiated against still unknown perpetrators (probably people working for, or in some other way collaborating with, the editorial offices of the dailies SME/SMENA, NARODNA OBRODA, and PRAVDA) who, from 1 to 11 September 1995, published gross misinformation, lies, and defamations aimed at discrediting SIS, a Slovak state body, and its representatives in connection with the circumstances of Michal Kovac Jr.'s detention by Austrian state bodies on 31 August 1995. It is apparent from the enclosed supplements (69 pages of newspaper articles) that the perpetrators have made themselves guilty of some criminal acts against security, the criminal acts of slander and spreading a false alarm, the criminal act of divulging official and state secrets, and, potentially, also other crimes." [passage omitted]

Daily Speculates About Perpetrators

AU1309171095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 12 September on pages 1 and 5 carries a 2,000-word editorial article entitled "The President's Question Is Valid: Who Will Benefit?" The article responds to the "mounting accusations" by media and opposition politicians that the recent kidnapping of the Slovak president's son was the work of the "government coalition, or, formulated more precisely, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak Information Service [SIS]."

The article first asks how the HZDS and SIS could possibly profit from the case: "Were they perhaps out to discredit the father? Hardly. The Polish colleague of the aforementioned father has one son who has already been convicted and another son awaiting trial.... Has the Polish father resigned? No. Why, then, should one attempt to discredit the father in this way? Would it not be easier and, possibly, also more effective to use for this purpose the Tatragate affair [Kovac's alleged involvement in the planned 'sale' of the High Tatra to a U.S. investor as minister of finance in the early 1990's], his villa worth at least a million built under socialism, or his activity in an important position in London [allusion to Kovac's stay in London in the late 1960's as a banker], which he could scarcely perform without the blessing of the appropriate StB [communist-era secret service] administration?" Not even the sentencing of the president's son in Germany could possibly force Michal Kovac to resign, the article continues, and voices the assumption that it might even arouse sympathy for the father: "The Slovaks are an emphatic people and would tend to feel sorry for a father whose son had brought such shame upon him." The editorial therefore concludes that the "political capital" for the HZDS from the operation would be "zero." It also voices the conviction that no one from the HZDS or SIS would be "so stupid and shortsighted as to risk power" because of this affair.

While dismissing opposition claims about SIS's involvement in the kidnapping, the editorial agrees with the opposition in that "the whole operation was planned and carried out professionally" and that "it is reminiscent of secret service practices." In this context, it points out that present SIS members are not the only "professionals" active in this field in Slovakia, but that "professionals" also served under former SIS Director Vladimir Mitro. The editorial asks: "Would these professionals not be able to organize and carry out the kidnapping? Why would they do it? Possibly because some of them are unemployed, because they lost well-paid jobs, and

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possibly because they have no love for either the HZDS, Vladimir Meciar, or Ivan Lexa." Another motive of the operation, according to the article, could have been "to paralyze SIS, the responsibility for whose activity is borne by Ivan Lexa, and, subsequently, on the basis of the relationship between Ivan Lexa and Vladimir Meciar, to discredit the HZDS in such a way that it would never recover." The beneficiaries would be "those parties and movements on our political scene that are somehow unable to get to power by legal means and that are only waiting for a chance to 'pick up power from the ground,'" the article says.

The SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA article also voices the hypothesis that former SIS members may have cooperated in this operation with the Austrian and German secret services. The article points out that, immediately after finding the president's son, "Austria very quickly informed Interpol, and the FRG just as quickly asked for the son's extradition (this happened the next day, while in the case of the Helbig brothers [Mercedes car dealers wanted for fraud] the FRG needed two weeks for an extradition request). This indirectly shows that the secret services of three countries cooperated on this case." In this context, the article mentions alleged "contacts" between representatives of the former SIS leadership, particularly former intelligence chief Igor Cibula, and former Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner, with the German and Austrian secret services. It refers, for example, to a meeting between President Kovac, Igor Cibula, and "an unnamed staffer of a foreign intelligence service" in Bratislava shortly before Prime Minister Meciar's fall in March 1994. Speculating on foreign intelligence services' possible motives for cooperating with the former SIS leadership, the article asks: "What could the former SIS leadership offer foreign intelligence services in the case of their involvement in the kidnapping? Was it perhaps the taking over of power and the stabilization of the region of Slovakia, which would then dance to others' tune?"

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Geneva Agreement Needs Clarification, Says Kovacs

LD1309215095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Hungarian foreign minister [Laszlo Kovacs], a diplomatic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is still possible, but in order for this to happen some important principles of the most recent peace plan must be clarified. Laszlo Kovacs said, after a closed session of the National Assembly foreign affairs committee, that the Geneva agreement, for example, did not clarify the type of relationship there would be, after the possible division of territory, between the Bosnian Serb Republic, Yugoslavia, and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

The Hungarian foreign minister reiterated that, since the Geneva agreement, the international conference proposed by Hungary had not been on the agenda, but, if necessary, Budapest was ready to hold an international peace conference.

Vojvodina Mayors Meet Officials, Call For Autonomy

LD1309213695 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian mayors from Vajdasag [Vojvodina], who held talks with leading politicians of the Hungarian Republic in Budapest today, called for territorial and cultural autonomy.

President Arpad Goncz and Zoltan Gal, speaker of the National Assembly, in the morning met the mayors of Szabadka [Subotica], Zenta [Senta], Obecse [Becej], Topolya [Backa Topola], Magyarkanizsa [Kanjiza], Kishegyes [Mali Idos], and Ada, who said that the events of the past months and the refugee wave demanded great efforts on the part of the local governments in Vajdasag.

At the same time, the Hungarians in Vajdasag, because of lack of information, often did not know of the Hungarian Government's support for their cause. This was mentioned at the news conference following the talks.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo Labodi, chairman of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Border, identified by caption] We condemn ethnic cleansing in any form, no matter who does it, and we reject any alteration of the ethnic composition which emerged historically. [end recording]

The Hungarian Government has followed attentively the Yugoslav developments in the past, and still does so. Budapest several times has urged Yugoslavia to stop the settlement actions.

Csaba Tabajdi, a state secretary, said that the Hungarian Government is constantly noting the extent to which rump Yugoslavia meets the request not to alter the ethnic composition in Vajdasag. Zoltan Gal will give, at the Council of Europe's next session in Strasbourg, a detailed account of Hungary's opinion about the situation in Vajdasag. The Hungarian Government, the president of the republic, and the Speaker of the National Assembly support the Vajdasag Hungarians' demand for autonomy.

Jozsef Kasza, the mayor of Szabadka, told the briefing that 115,000 of the 160,000 refugees of recent months were in Vajdasag. At present some 290,000 Hungarians lived in province. The number of Hungarians in Vajdasag had decreased by 25 percent over the past ten years because of psychological pressure and military call-ups. Kasza believes that the economically and politically vulnerable situation of the Hungarians there is most worrying.

[Begin Kasza recording] The mother country pays sufficient attention to our problem, and it has taken—and takes—the appropriate measures to remedy this problem. [end recording]

According to Gabor Horti Toth, the mayor of Zenta, the refugees, contrary to allegations, are settling in Vajdasag in an organized, and not spontaneous manner. That is why territorial and cultural autonomy is so necessary, the mayor of Zenta said. The Hungarian Government also supports these endeavors.

Goncz Interviewed on Vojvodina

LD1309214695 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to Arpad Goncz it is the natural interest, not only of the Vojvodina Hungarians, but of the Belgrade Government, too, that the accommodation of the 150,000 Krajina Serb refugees should be in accordance with the capacities of the regions concerned. The president gave "Newsreel" an exclusive interview after he met six Hungarian mayors from Vojvodina. According to the Vojvodina delegation, a planned settlement process is taking place in the northern part of Yugoslavia. This could be prevented by autonomy, which Hungary also supports.

President Goncz agreed with the mayors, that the refugee question was tragic. The provisional distribution of the Serbs compelled to leave Krajina had more or less ended. Supporting them was a humanitarian issue, but at the same time it was indispensable for the

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authorities to consult with the local governments when finding accommodation for the wave of refugees who had entered Vojvodina.

[Begin Goncz recording] Look, it is very difficult for the Hungarians who live there, because it is self-evident that these people [Serb refugees] are embittered and wish to have a roof over their heads.

Neither can the Hungarians who live there, nor can we allow ourselves to disregard the humanitarian aspects of the issue. At the same time, the position we can represent in such a situation is that the refugees should be settled in accordance with the possibilities for putting them up, and that this should happen with the assent of the local governments. And it should also be noted that they should not alter the region's inherited ethnic composition.

Of political, and not humanitarian, significance for us is that we have heartfelt hopes that when the war ends the ethnic issues will be resolved on the basis of the principle which we have always professed—that the Hungarian minority, nationality, is entitled to the same rights as those of the Serbs in Croatia and the Croats in Serbia. The principles must be identical. [end recording] [passage omitted]

MIEP To Hold Antigovernment Demonstration

AU1309132495 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 13 Sep 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, by Tibor Franka; place and date not given: "The MIEP Wants a Hot Autumn—Csurka: Enough of the Lies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week, Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], said that the coalition scandal was the government's fiasco. Contrary to this, Gyula Horn has initiated six-party talks for 15 September, to which Csurka dismissingly said: "The all-party assembly of wiseacres is like a refuge." In his view, a government which is indifferent to the fate and life of the people whose governing it pledged to perform can only be seen as failed.

Partly due to the above, the MIEP wants a hot autumn, specifically on 23 October, when it is planning an antigovernment demonstration.

[Franka] In your view, as for the latest coalition agreement, it was not a government crisis but an actual fiasco. This opinion seems to be contradicted by the fact that, at Horn's initiative, the coalition will again sit at the negotiating table with the other parliamentary parties.

[Csurka] The "six-party talks"—that is, where six, rather than eight or 10 parties are in Parliament, namely the all-party assembly of wiseacres—is like a refuge. One can either hide here from the snow storm or his pursuers, or he can go on a pleasant trip, far from the noise of the world. At the moment, Horn is fleeing into six-party talks because he is shivering. He is alone and everything seems to be collapsing above his head—of course he would invite the opposition and the somewhat annoyed coalition partner for coordination. But what are they coordinating? Among the listed topics, there is a bait: The headquarters issues of the social organizations, namely the fate of party properties, including the headquarters buildings of the MSZP. In this, they can make nasty remarks to each other, and perhaps something can also be obtained. Give and take....

[Franka] Pardon me but I have to interrupt you because other issues, for example, the acceleration of legislation will also be discussed at the talks....

[Csurka] There is nothing to talk about the acceleration of legislation: The justice minister has to be told to submit quickly and precisely better and better draft bills. Horn wants to threaten the Constitutional Court with discussing the issue of personal identification numbers. A byproduct of this was the sudden leaking of the information that Laszlo Solyom, chairman of the Constitutional Court, has the highest salary among the highest state dignitaries. Anyone can be discredited by this today when millions of people are almost starving. Why was not Suranyi's [chairman of the Hungarian National Bank] or the other bankers' salary made public? In connection with the draft media bill, their goal is to set up a committee. This is ridiculous. Especially when we look at the conditions in the country, society's mood, and the tension. The whole thing is only needed for NEPSZABADSAG to be able to print on its front page that the prime minister is initiating six-party talks. Therefore, he is still initiating and he is still a prime minister.

[Franka] Does this mean that the MIEP, if it was in Parliament, would not accept Horn's invitation?

[Csurka] Of course not. In my view, the opposition parties are making a huge mistake if they attend this meeting. They will contribute to Horn's "perestroyka and glasnost."

[Franka] I must again interrupt you, referring to my first question to you, according to which the coalition, rather than having been defeated, is holding a meeting with the opposition parties on 15 September.

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[Csurka] I am still saying the same. A government can only seen to be defeated if it is indifferent to such an extent to the fate and life of the people for whose governing it pledged itself. The sides came to an agreement to continue privatization. This has by now become an accepted synonym for free robbery. However, the next conflict of sharing has arrived. It is fair enough that the former health minister cannot be a hospital director, but now we have learned that the former industry and trade minister cannot be head of the MOL [Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation]. We know as much that neither of them are liberals. Today, this does not only mean an ideological belief. [Alliance of Free Democrats MP] Andrea Szolnoki also found a good place for one of her family members. This is the way it goes, ruthlessly. It is impossible to have talks with these.

[Franka] Your words show strong emotions, even determination, you seem to be facing up to the autumn....

[Csurka] The MIEP indeed wants a hot autumn. In the next issue of MAGYAR FORUM, we will publish our invitation to people to commemorate 23 October, which will at the same time be a very firm antigovernment demonstration. It is enough! It is enough of the lies, putting people into poverty, closing schools, destroying the middle classes, continuously undermining the currency, and of the price increases—of everything. It is enough! With the help and active participation of hundreds of thousands we want to assert facts, which will determine our future. There is no point in further submitting ourselves!

[Franka] It is not enough to say that you have had enough, a program is also needed.

[Csurka] We do have a program: To overthrow the government. This is the first step.

[Franka] Do you think that this can be done with a demonstration, even of 100,000?

[Csurka] No. I know that this is not how it works, although everything is possible. In 1956, a single major demonstration of students and workers brought down the Rakosi-Gero system. Unfortunately, the nation has systematically been dissuaded from showing its force, it has been made to believe that it is weak. We are not weak! We will now show our power! At the first occasion, we will only say that we are here and we are watching your hands. Is it possible that they will get as frightened as Erno Gero did at the time when he escaped to Moscow, together with Rakosi? I wonder where, in which direction they will run? And will they support each other? I am also interested in this issue as a writer. If someone wants to come with us then he should think of the happiness we experience seeing them flee. In other words, we will be demonstrating for beautiful Hungarian days, "wine and soft bread," on 23 October.

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Sacirbegovic on Air Strikes, Division of Sarajevo

BR1309151795 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 13 Sep 95 p 4

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Christophe Lamfalussy in Brussels on 12 September: "Muhamed Sacirbegovic: 'A Bitter Pill'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic was in Brussels on Tuesday [12 September], where he met with NATO Secretary General Willy Claes and European Commissioner Hans van den Broek. As he left the European Commission building he agreed to answer questions from a small group of journalists.

[Lamfalussy] What about the Geneva agreement?

[Sacirbegovic] We made a significant concession by authorizing the name Serb Republic. We are ready to make other compromises but it is a bitter pill for the Bosnians to swallow. We will do so if this Serbian entity accepts democracy and human rights at the end of this peace process. If this Serb Republic is a republic of Mladic or Karadzic, there will be no peace and no Serb republic. If it reforms and becomes democratic, then we will accept it as part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I then suppose it will have another name.

[Lamfalussy] Did Willy Claes tell you that the air strikes would be stepped up?

[Claes] I can neither confirm nor deny this. It is confidential.... What I can say is that Mr. Claes was very encouraging regarding the role that Bosnia can play in NATO's "Partnership for Peace." The main threat to European security does not lie in Hungary, the Czech Republic, or Poland, but in Bosnia-Herzegovina. NATO must act quickly to include Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Atlantic defense system.

[Lamfalussy] How long can NATO continue with its air strikes without taking the Russian position into account?

[Sacirbegovic] As long as Mladic does not comply. Russia must respect our sovereignty, our right to defend it, and those who defend it with our agreement. We understand that Yeltsin has to speak because others are shouting. But I would also like to encourage Russia to play a more constructive role in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is one of the reasons why Russia was invited to join the Contact Group. The tail must stop wagging the dog. It is time the dog wags the tail. Sarajevo must remain a unified city where Muslims, Croats, Serbs and everyone else can live together. Sarajevo will not exist if the Serbs have the right to live on one side and everyone else on the other. Nobody should support such a plan, including Russia.

[Lamfalussy] Should NATO extend its air strikes?

[Sacirbegovic] By rejecting the NATO and UN conditions, Ratko Mladic has provoked an escalation of the war. His view is that the victor will not be judged by the amount of damage he has caused but will be the one who has remained true to his undertakings. His undertaking is that he will not lift the siege of Sarajevo. If Mladic wins, he will have to be fought by other methods.

[Lamfalussy] Mr. Akashi is reluctant to see NATO proceed to "Option 3" of the operation, which supposes the bombing of industrial sites.

[Sacirbegovic] If the first two operations had not been undertaken there would have been no Geneva agreement. And we would not be so close to peace as we are now. There is a always a storm before the calm. This is the storm.

Danger of World War III Seen in Air Strikes

BR1409081295 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 12 Sep 95 p 6

[Article by Fredrik Braconier: "Risky Warfare by NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO officers claim that cruise missiles are just another way of transporting an explosive charge to its target. But the deployment of 13 American cruise missiles is a symbolic escalation of the NATO/UN war in Bosnia. These weapons have had strategic character, and originally many of them were armed with nuclear warheads.

In part the targets are also new. Cruise missiles were used against the Bosnian Serb air defence system around Banja Luka, the largest town in the nowadays acknowledged Republica Srpska [Bosnian Serb Republic]. Banja Luka is a long way from Sarajevo. The attack, which was accompanied by renewed aerial bombing, confirms the impression that there is a general air war against the Bosnian Serbs. The number of civilian casualties is rising.

No Need To Bomb Them Out

Why this escalation? The Bosnian Serbs no longer need to be bombed to the negotiating table. Their representatives were present at the meeting in Geneva on Friday when a diplomatic breakthrough was announced by the United States. As far back as two weeks ago when the air war was launched, there were reports of great

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progress when the former Yugoslavia's strongman, Slobodan Milosevic, was appointed chief negotiator for all the Serbs.

This step meant in reality that the Bosnian Serbs accepted the principles which the major powers had set out for a peaceful settlement. This was confirmed by the document made public in Geneva.

The motive cited for the bombing is that the Bosnian Serbs must withdraw their heavy weapons from Sarajevo and other areas protected by the United Nations. However, the bomb attacks are now mainly directed not at these guns but at other targets. Banja Luka's air defence system does not threaten any safe area.

Clear the Field

The reason the Bosnian Serb air defence system is a prime target is the desire to clear the field for new air attacks. Statements also hinted that the bombing war would also be conducted against Bosnian Serb areas in northwestern Bosnia, where Banja Luka is the main town.

The Bosnian Serbs' reason for not withdrawing their heavy weapons is that they would be defenceless against a Muslim attack.

While this argument meets with little understanding among NATO and UN representatives, this point of view is given indirect support in the most recent number of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, a semiofficial American periodical.

Charles Boyd, a U.S. Air Force general who until July of this year was deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe, severely criticizes U.S. Balkan policy, saying that Washington has demanded the protection of safe areas even when their defenders were using them for offensive operations.

The retired U.S. general's striking conclusion is that the United States has reshaped UN resolutions in order to deal out unjustified punishment to one side in this war.

Difficult To Withstand Offensive

Is it the intention of the United States—it is Washington which completely controls operations undertaken in the name of the United Nations and NATO—to bomb the Bosnian Serbs into military defeat? Alongside the air defense system the Bosnian Serbs' communications and infrastructure are being knocked out. It may be very difficult for them to withstand a new Muslim offensive along their long front lines.

Or is the motive more complicated? The bombardment is meant to show not only the Serbs but also the other parties to the conflict that the United States means business. This would in turn make it possible to get a peace treaty because it is backed up by demonstrated military strength.

Balance of Power Changes

But probably this strength cannot be deployed against Bosnia's Muslims, the allies of the United States. With the bombings the balance of power in Bosnia is changing. A Bosnian Serb military collapse cannot be ruled out.

The Muslims' desire for peace is hardly likely to increase when NATO's air forces are pounding their enemy to bits. This view is quite common among the non-Yugoslav participants in the peace process—Carl Bildt is one example—even if it is seldom clearly expressed.

The bombing war in the Balkans will have consequences far beyond the borders of former Yugoslavia. Today's weak Russia, which has few possibilities of intervening militarily on the scene, is constantly sharpening its tone. Anti-Western feeling is being reinforced. This could be of significance in our part of Europe.

For the United Nations the intervention in the former Yugoslavia has brought a series of fiascos and humiliations. During the bombing war the world organization has been subordinated to the United States and NATO. However, no gratitude has been forthcoming from the United States. The United Nations was not even represented at the U.S.-organized Geneva conference on Friday—something which could hardly have been by chance.

A weak UN leadership, which in the past was hesitant about any use of force, now is sanctioning an almost unlimited bombing war. This is happening against the will of two of the Security Council's permanent members, Russia and China. In practice the statutory UN decisionmaking process has been abrogated.

World War III

Over the years this process has thrown many a monkey wrench into the works, but it had an important function. The requirement that there be agreement among the permanent members was meant to prevent a conflict between the major powers. This stipulation in the field of decisionmaking was an important factor when Sweden applied for UN membership.

In September 1995 the UN leadership is allowing NATO to wage war despite a divided Security Council and referring to resolutions which are more than two years old. In is in this way that there is a real risk that a third world war will start.

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General Delic Asks Islamic Countries for Arms

LD1309174695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 13 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim Commander General Rasim Delic asked the Islamic countries Wednesday to send arms to Bosnia.

Ahead of the Organisation of the islamic Conference ministerial meeting in Kuala Lumpur Delic told reporters that the Sarajevo Muslim government pitted all its hopes in Islamic countries for the strengthening of its army.

According to sources close to the organisation, Delic met with military representatives of 13 out of 52 countries members of the organisation and talked with them about what types of weapons his army needed, Agence France Press said.

The area of the former Yugoslavia has been under an arms embargo since September 1991 but weapons have been brought to the area in large quantities through different channels, mainly to Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

Peacekeepers have long been pointing to the fact that the Bosnian Muslim army was increasingly better armed. Bosnian Muslims receive their arms mostly from Islamic countries which also send them mercenaries and instuctors.

In autumn last year a scandal had been uncovered about the shipment of weapons to Bosnian Muslims over the airport of Tuzla, in northeastern Bosnia. Muslims also receive arms through Croatian territory and Croatia's Adriatic ports.

SDP Voices Opposition to 'Breaking Up' Country

AU1309195595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Touching upon the Geneva principles at its news conference today, the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Herzegovina announced that it supports the peace process, albeit only if its positions are clear regarding territorial and constitutional solutions that would serve the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Breaking up Bosnia-Herzegovina would be catastrophic, so nobody dares sign at any cost, SDP Presidency Member Nijaz Skenderagic pointed out. [passage omitted]

Parties Demand Legal Interpretation of Agreement

AU1309202995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Civic Democratic Party [GDS] and the Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO] of Bosnia-Herzegovina held a joint meeting in Sarajevo today at which they asserted that the time is ripe to hold a political conference on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The two parties' representatives, headed by GDS Chairman Ibrahim Spahic and LBO Deputy Chairman Salih Foco, agree on the necessity of conducting a comprehensive analysis of the agreement on establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect, it was said that all information and valid documents should be collected with a view to enabling deputies to achieve an insight in its contents.

LBO and GDS representatives demand of international experts, the Constitutional Court of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and other relevant institutions to give legal interpretations of the agreement adopted in Geneva. They also propose that Republican Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic already tomorrow be presented the initiative on a meeting of opposition parties' deputies clubs so that they would be given their parties' views as clearly as possible.

Daily Views State's Division, Future Status

AU1409100595 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Sabic: "Unlimited Possibilities of Interpreting the Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is the same old story. Once more in Geneva the representatives of the Croats, the Muslims, and the Serbs have accepted something, in this particular case—one more basic set of principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina, so as to, in the "good" old style, and practically immediately after they left the negotiating room, start to interpret the agreement in different ways. In doing so, every party attaches great importance to certain clauses of the reconciliated text, to those that favor the party in question, while neglecting those remaining. The Croatian representatives are the most restrained, perhaps because their attention is largely directed at eastern Slavonia and Baranja, that is, at the agreement on that issue which, as a constituent part of the package, was to be signed in Geneva as well.

Commenting on the Geneva meeting, the political representatives of the Muslim nation consider the first clause of the basic principles as the most important. It says that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue "to exist within its

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present borders as an internationally recognized state." There is no other way to interpret the words Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic/Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, uttered after the Geneva negotiations were over: "Once and for all we removed the possibility of the creation of Greater Serbia on our threshold."

At the same time, the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, whom Milan Milutinovic, minister of foreign affairs of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, according to his own statement barely brought to agree with the proposed text of the basic principles, consider the most important detail of the document to be the fact that "republika srpska" has been explicitly mentioned in it. In the Serbian media that detail has been proclaimed as international recognition of the Serb creation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and all credit for it has, of course, been given to the Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, who, in acknowledgment of the fact that he had already earlier given his consent to the Contact Group plan and the ratio 51:49, has been pronounced a peacemaker.

On such occasions, one would logically expect arbitration from the mediators of the negotiations and their sponsors on this, but for the time being, there is none. The representatives of the international community, as in the previous acceptance of Constitutional principles and similar preliminary agreements, speak of "decisive progress" in negotiations and a big step toward the final solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while nobody talks about the details of the plan that the "decisive progress" should be crowned with. All that is known is that it will not be the Contact Group plan which, once everybody realized that the Bosnian Serbs would not accept it at any cost, was suddenly proclaimed as the basis for further negotiations.

As long as this is so, the leaders of all the interested parties have unlimited opportunity to assure their "subjects" that their particular interests will be satisfied by that plan. Alija Izetbegovic has promised the Muslim population, who received with great disappointment the first international document in which the so-called Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] was accepted as a fact, that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina would not withdraw from any of the positions it presently holds, while Radovan Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik continue to talk, like before Geneva, about a compact Serb territory without the Muslim enclaves and about the widening of the corridor and their access to the Adriatic, even without the expansion of the Una-Sana canton onto the regions of Prijedor, Kljuc, and Sanski Most.

What will happen in the end is not easy to predict, although one would understand from many commentaries that the ending of the war is an accomplished fact. It is, for instance, unclear in what way the ratio 51:49 will be satisfied, at the same time providing a compact territory and wide corridor to the Serbs, and it is even more unclear and unlikely that "the Serb entity" and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be able to agree on some kind of common constitution. For the Serbs keep on calculating that the central authority would have jurisdiction over humanitarian and similar affairs, while the leadership of the Federation expects the central authority to have far greater authority, large enough for there to be sense in the first clause of the basic principles.

Naturally, the final outcome—for all that, of course, one should reckon on the possibility of a total collapse—will depend primarily on the initiators of the talks and the authors of the future plan, as well as upon the moves by which the representatives of the three nations will be "talked into" cooperation. Bearing in mind the present differences in viewpoint over the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and many details indicate that there is an ongoing gradual division of Bosnia-Herzegovina (started by the Washington Treaty), at this moment nobody can predict the number of "decisive steps" that are yet to be taken.

Akashi: UN at 'Most Crucial Turning Point'

AU1409091795 Paris AFP in English
0903 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 14 (AFP)—The combination of NATO strikes on Bosnian Serb targets and significant military gains by Bosnian Croats in western Bosnia have brought the situation to a turning point between more fighting and significant moves to peace, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said here Thursday [14 September].

Akashi, UN special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, who has been summoned to New York by UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, said on his way out of the Croatian capital that the United Nations was concerned by the sudden shift in military momentum.

"We will do a review ... (of) the situation as well as what other options are available for the future for the United Nations," he said.

"I cannot enumerate these options. We have not formulated these as yet," he added. "But, as I have kept saying, we are at a most crucial turning point, a crossroad between near peace and more intensified fighting."

General Bernard Janvier, the military commander for the ex-Yugoslavia, is also headed to New York for the meeting.

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The gathering was called at the end of two weeks of NATO airstrikes on Bosnian Serb military targets which have failed to force the separatists to remove their big guns from around Sarajevo, re-open the city's airport and restore freedom of movement to UN and humanitarian personnel and convoys.

But the airstrikes also seem to have given momentum to Bosnian Croats, backed by the Croatian Government, and Bosnian Government forces, which took the key central Bosnian town of Jajce Wednesday along with a significant swath of territory.

The UN Security Council said late Wednesday that it was deeply concerned by the military action and urged all parties "to cease immediately all offensive military activities and hostile acts."

Akashi echoed that early Thursday, warning that he was concerned that the fighting would "adversely affect the diplomatic negotiations which are ongoing."

UN Protests Offensive in Central Bosnia

AU1309170795 Paris AFP in English
1656 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 13 (AFP)—The United Nations protested Wednesday a Bosnian government offensive that has sent thousands of people fleeing north deeper into Serb-held territory.

Bosnian government forces have launched a series of attacks in central Bosnia and, along with Croat and Croatian forces, are pressing Bosnian Serbs on the ground in western Bosnia while NATO hits Bosnian Serb targets from the air.

"The United Nations once again calls on the parties to exercise restraint and not to take advantage of the current situation to advance their military objectives, especially now at a time when important diplomatic initiatives are underway," said UN spokesman Philip Arnold.

Croat authorities in the southern Bosnian city of Mostar claimed Wednesday to have pushed north to capture territory stretching from the town of Drvar to the Vrbas river, the Croatian news agency HINA reported.

Attacks were continuing, according to Vladimir Soljic, the "defense minister" of the Bosnian Croats.

The advances have not been independently verified.

In Zagreb, Arnold said that between 7,000 and 8,000 civilians fled the area around Donji Vakuf, a front-line town about 70 kilometers (50 miles) west of Sarajevo, to Jajce to the north.

The Bosnian government tried to take Donji Vakuf in August but made little progress. Jajce is an important target since a hydroelectric plant there supplies energy to major portions of Serb-held northern Bosnia.

Another 3,000 to 4,000 people fled to to Mrkonjic Grad northwest of Jajce and 3,000 to 4,000 were in temporary shelters, he said,

Yasushi Akashi, the UN special envoy to the ex-Yugoslavia, said earlier Wednesday that Bosnian government, Croatian and Croat forces had apparently "made several gains" in western and northern Bosnia.

"It would appear that the city of Donji Vakuf has fallen into these forces," he added.

Peacekeepers 'Protest' Army Mortar Attack

AU1309151295 Paris AFP in English
1452 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 13 (AFP)—The Bosnian army fired three mortar rounds at a Bosnian Serb district of Sarajevo, breaking a pledge not to launch attacks during NATO's air campaign, UN officials said Wednesday.

"At 11:05 a.m. yesterday (Tuesday), the Rapid Reaction Force reported three Bosnian army heavy weapons rounded fired... towards Ilidza," said UN spokesman Chris Vernon.

Bosnian Serb forces controlling Ilidza, a suburb in west Sarajevo, did not respond to the firing incident, to which UN peacekeepers in the city responded with a "strong letter of protest," Vernon said.

The Bosnian government gave an undertaking at the outset of the current NATO campaign against Bosnian Serb military targets not to attack out of Sarajevo. The air raids, which have lasted more than two weeks, are aimed at getting the Serbs to withdraw heavy weapons from around the city.

UN spokesman Alexandre Ivanko said a Bosnian government general was "very upset" on hearing about the incident. Ivanko suggested the incident might have been a "local initiative or celebratory fire."

Army, Croats Capture Key Area in Central Bosnia

AU1309142095 Paris AFP in English
1254 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 13 (AFP)—Bosnian and Croat forces have made key territorial gains, UN officials said Wednesday, but denied the

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Bosnian allies had secured success because of NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serbs.

UN military spokesman Chris Vernon said unconfirmed reports of important advances in central Bosnia by the two forces appeared "likely" while advances by government forces on a separate front further to the east had "been confirmed on the ground by UN peacekeepers."

He also said two weeks of air strikes had not affected the ability of the Bosnian Serb army to defend itself in these areas.

"Given that the focus of NATO airstrikes has been in eastern Bosnia, I don't think there is a great link between the two," he said but added that it was possible the BSA's "command and control had been affected (by the air raids)".

Thousands of civilians are reported to have fled the fighting area around Donji Vakuf, a frontline town which government forces have attempted to capture several times.

UN officials in Zagreb urged "restraint" by both sides "when important diplomatic initiatives are underway", a reference to US attempts to get a meaningful peace deal underway.

NATO warplanes are targetting Serb military targets in an effort to pressure the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) to remove heavy weapons from around Sarajevo. Atlantic alliance warplanes were in action overnight Wednesday and were expected to continue their raids through the day, Vernon said.

The strikes have been mainly around Sarajevo and further east with few strikes in regions where this latest fighting has taken place.

There was some evidence, Vernon said, that Serb forces had beat a retreat from the tip of the Ozren salient where peacekeepers were able to confirm the Bosnian army's capture of a key road linking major towns in northeast and central Bosnia.

Croat forces in Bosnia are essentially an extension of the regular Croatian army commanded from Zagreb. The Croatian army scored a stunning success against Serbs in the so-called Krajina region of Croatia in August and opened up access to the west of Bosnia where these latest fights have taken place.

In particular, the reported capture of the territory is crucial to the military ambitions of the two allied Bosnian forces. Holding the areas around Sipovo and Donji Vakuf opens the possibility of recapturing Jajce, a town replete with symbolism for Croats and Moslems.

Achieving this aim though is another major step analysts said. Nevertheless the publicity surrounding these latest moves will add to the political problems beginning to cloy the progress of the NATO mission in Bosnia.

Moscow has severely criticised the mission saying it is a "genocide" against Serbs in Bosnia, remarks dismissed by western diplomats. France, Italy and Greece are also understood to be uneasy with the intensity of the air campaign.

Comments by Bosnia's President Alija Izetbeogvic congratulating his troops that they had shown "the way...how we could continue with the aim of liberating our country" are unlikely to help either.

Despite over 3,000 NATO sorties flown over Serb-held Bosnia, the BSA's commander General Ratko Mladic has refused to bow to the bombardment and refuses to move heavy weapons away from Sarajevo.

UN officials did say there were signs that cracks were beginning to appear in the resolve of the BSA as a whole but refused to give details. It is thought that local commanders are anxious to know when the bombing is to stop.

A decision to halt the raids appeared to be in the pipeline on Wednesday. NATO sources in Brussels said the allies are nearing a "reasonable solution" which could allow them to call off the controversial air raids.

"We are progressing and could find a reasonable solution" to which the United Nations, NATO and Bosnia's Serbs could agree, said one source close to these discussions among alliance ambassadors due to resume Wednesday.

Zubak: Bosniak-Croatian Relations 'Improving'

AU1309203095 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 95 pp 14-15

[Interview with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and president of the Presidential Council of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by Miljenko Karacic in Mostar "the day after the meeting between Croatian President Tudjman and Bosnia-Herzegovina President Izetbegovic in Split": "The Cards Are Still Under the Table"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The new peace plan for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina has caused a real tumult in the cabinet of Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in Mostar. During one of his breaks between numerous telephone calls and conversations with his assistants about future tasks, Mr. Zubak found time to brief curious journalists on all the

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details of the new U.S. plan, which has intrigued both foreign and home media. [passage omitted]

[Karacic] In the new peace proposal, the international community considers the Croatian and Bosniak party in Bosnia-Herzegovina as one. However, to speak in realistic terms, the Croats and the Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina have both common and individual interests. What can you tell us about Croatian interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zubak] The Bosniak Muslims have acquired the status of victim, and they really have it. The international community—when it establishes peace—will offer support to the federation and the Bosniak Muslim nation in order to help them overcome all the suffering and traumas that occurred to them during the war. Regarding the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we think that the constitutional arrangement that we have signed secures an equality for us in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It secures for us all that we had pleaded for even before the war. From a political point of view, we have achieved our goal. It depends solely upon us to what extent we shall realize the rights we have according to the Federation Constitution. It is important, too, how much we will accept Bosnia-Herzegovina as our homeland. The Croats have the problem of spirit emphasized, after the attempt of a part of Bosniak leadership to treat Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state of "basic" nation. That is why there is distrust of the Federation project. And we should, in fact, think in a completely different way.

[Karacic] How would you look at this otherwise?

[Zubak] Bosnia-Herzegovina is historically and actually still ours, and we have to fight for Bosnia-Herzegovina. If we did not think that way, we would have betrayed both ethical and political objectives and principles for which we had fought. That is also our obligation to the numerous generations who have lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is known what the Croats suffered through in history only in order to stay a constitutional nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, even being the smallest in number now. However, the Croats have stayed here, despite all the pressure—from the Turks to old Yugoslav and communist ones. This generation has also managed to defend itself, and we should treat Bosnia-Herzegovina as our country.

[Karacic] Is one of the steps toward such thinking the establishment of the federal bodies of authority?

[Zubak] First of all, we have to insist upon it. Despite that, we have defended and liberated all the areas in which we live. We cannot defend all our interests if we do not enter all the institutions of federation authority—that is, if we do not insist upon confederal links of the Federation with the Republic of Croatia. All this was signed in Washington. So, judicially and politically, we have realized that. Now, the next stage is to get the material realization of what we have achieved by defense.

[Karacic] You have mentioned confederal links of the Federation of the Croats and the Bosniaks with the Republic of Croatia. Part of the Bosniak leadership had already previously passed over that part of the Washington treaty in silence. The confederation is rarely mentioned in the Bosniak leadership. Why?

[Zubak] Nobody questions the agreement signed in Washington, at least that is what is said. There are ongoing negotiations on the organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, it is not being pointed out now, so that the Serbs would not get, as the aggressor, the same right as the Croats and the Bosniaks, the victims of the Serb aggression, have got. For the Serbs, that would partially mean the realization of their idea of Greater Serbia. For that, at this stage the question of confederal connection of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Republic of Croatia is passed over in silence for tactical reasons. That is the Bosniak leadership standpoint. I just convey it to you, although I personally think that they will hardly be able to withstand the pressure from the part of the Serbs and the international community to enable them to establish a confederal connection with Serbia and Montenegro, the same kind of connection which the Federation has got to connect with the Republic of Croatia. I am personally against giving such opportunity to the Serbs, after everything that they have done in those three, four years.

[Karacic] Can it, nevertheless, happen that the ratio 51:49 changes?

[Zubak] The maximum the Serbs can territorially win in Bosnia-Herzegovina is 49 percent. In that sense, the international community will certainly make no concession to them. The situation can change only on behalf of the Federation. Nobody can prevent the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from undertaking operations to liberate parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If such operations take place before signing the final peace agreement, the results will enter the agreement as reality from the ground.

[Karacic] Does that mean that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which holds the front lines toward the areas under control of the Serbs, who have been under attack by NATO and the RRF [Rapid Reaction Force], could use the confusion within the Serbian ranks to begin a more serious action?

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[Zubak] Such a possibility is out of the question. In the area around Sarajevo, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army must not undertake any military activities. Something like that could be interpreted as joint warfare of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the international community against the Serbs. NATO only wants to provide security for the safe areas and other things envisaged by the UN Security Council resolutions. Sarajevo, Gorazde, and Tuzla have to be safe, as well as the humanitarian routes toward those towns. NATO has reacted because of that. Meanwhile, not only the targets around Sarajevo have been chosen, but also other military targets. That does not mean that in other areas there can be no defensive of combined defensive and offensive activities of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Karacic] Has this new peace proposal frozen the situation on the ground regarding the process of the establishment of the Federation, or certain activities, less pompously, nevertheless go on?

[Zubak] On a local level, it is business as usual. There are contacts everyday regarding the federal institutions of authority. And the most important, the confidence between the Croats and the Bosniaks is being gradually recovered. That is the most important thing for future coexistence. The organization of the federal institutions of authority is at a certain standstill. That is understandable, because everybody expects this new peace proposal to start to see how it works. The speed of the integrating the functions of the Republic and the Federation will depend upon it, too, as it was envisaged by the Split declaration. After Split, we talked about it in Jablanica, and on two occasions later on Edhem Bicakcic and I talked about it. Our stands are now much closer. We have agreed that, if we want a faster process of implementation of the Federation, there cannot be three Governments. Whether we will agree upon the integration of the other functions, we will see. If the situation with the peace plan will be clear, that will be possible, if not, not so soon. Regarding the government, we expect to have talks about whether we will reorganize its structure or its personnel. If it will be its personnel, we have to make a decision on who will be prime minister designate, from which nation.

[Karacic] The date 1 January 1996 has been mentioned as the deadline to integrate the government. Is that realistic?

[Zubak] I mentioned that date in Jablanica and later on in talks with Bicakcic. He has mentioned that in front of the Sarajevo media, who immediately broadcast that on 1 January 1996, the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia will cease to exist. Mr. Bicakcic was personally convincing me that he had not said that. The Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia—that is, its certain functions—will be active until the moment the Constitution of the Federation is implemented on the whole. When all of it will be done, Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia will not function as a form of a state union, but it will transform into the community of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which function will be to coordinate the political objectives and interests of the Croats. The most responsible representatives of Croatian people will make a decision about its name and the way of functioning. Since a lot of time has passed since the Jablanica meeting, I doubt something more could be done until 1 January 1996. It does not depend on us.

[Karacic] Whenever the peace process goes forward, some accident occurs that does not promote Croatian-Bosniak relations. Such incidents frequently and regularly occur in Tesanj. Recently, Tesanj school inspector Hamdo Subasic ordered that the Bosniak course of study has to be applied at the elementary school "Kulin Ban" in Zabljak. What do you think about that?

[Zubak] Globally, the relations between the Croats and the Bosniaks are improving. Meanwhile, in certain regions, there are still incidental attempts to impose on us some things that are contrary to the Federation Constitution. Whenever the Croatian and Bosniak leadership move closer together, there are similar things happening in that area. That is very indicative. I have informed Mr. Ganic on several occasions about that, and he has taken it into consideration. I have told this to Mr. Izetbegovic, and he has convinced me that problem will also be solved. And I am sure about it. There is no force that can impose any other course of study on the Croats of Usora but the Croatian one, like all other pupils in other parts of Herzeg-Bosnia have.

[Box, p 14]

Fifth Corps Leaves Kladusa

[Karacic] The question of the followers of Fikret Abdic has not yet been solved because they are afraid to return to Kladusa; a lot of them have refugee status in the Republic of Croatia.

[Zubak] The agreement signed in Zagreb by Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and me granted security to all the Bosniaks who fled Velika Kladusa, Cazin, and Bosanska Krupa, and who return to their homes. But, they have not returned yet. On Tuesday, in Split, Mister Izetbegovic agreed to issue an order to all the units of the Fifth Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to withdraw from Velika Kladusa. Around 100 policemen from central Bosnia have already arrived over there. The same

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number of policemen from Turkey and the Republic of Croatia will also arrive, and they will guarantee security to those people. And if that is not enough, some other measures will have to be sought for so that the refugees return as soon as possible.

Karadzic Views Political, Military Situation

AU1309144995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian at 1920 GMT on 12 September carries a live, approximately 75-minute program entitled "Ask the President." Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic is the guest in the Banja Luka studio. The anchor in the studio is Lazar Petrovic.

Petrovic gives the telephone numbers listeners can call to ask their questions. He then turns to Karadzic, who has just returned from a tour of the fronts, and asks him about the situation in the Mrkonjic-Grad and Sipovo areas. Karadzic says that "the regular Croatian Army units have again attacked in the area, probably with the goal of surprising the 13th Division by coming up on them from behind in the direction of Sipovo and (?Tojnice); this is a new element and they had initial success. However, our lines there have been consolidated, and the defense has been prepared on the reserve lines. The people have left [izasao] for Sipovo, Jajce, and Mrkonjic-Grad. The situation in the region is quite safe because the army has established new lines and a good defense." Petrovic then says that "we seem to be repeating ourselves, we seem to be unable to learn our lesson; is there again fear, panic, wrong information, fifth and other columns; what is actually happening?"

Karadzic announces an investigation into the situation and says that he does not want to prejudge the results. He says that "a single battalion faltered, while all the others stood their ground, but the completely unjustified faltering of one brigade—which deserves an investigation and the strictest punishment—put the other brigades in a difficult situation." He goes on to say that this is certainly a weak point in the brigade's command which the investigation is bound to discover. He promises punishment for the culprits because "no one can ever again make the irresponsible move of retreating, abandoning or not accepting combat, because it puts his comrades from other brigades in a difficult situation."

Karadzic then broaches the subject of various rumors and speculation and says that he has first hand experience of "uniformed people who go around urging the people to flee because the ustashas are close; they do all this to move [pokrenuti] the people, and once the people have moved out, they loot their houses." He promises that "military, state, and public security services" will investigate who is spreading the rumors and take appropriate action. He says that the war situation allows for the passing of "the severest sentences possible." Karadzic goes on to say that once chaos prevails, "they blame a municipal chairman for issuing such orders, and so forth." "However," Karadzic continues, "this is impossible because we have extraordinary, superb municipal chairmen, and war presidency chairmen in the area; they are on the forward front lines, and they stay there. Second, we shall not permit grapevine orders; orders must be in written form, both by the military commands and civilian authorities, and the people should ignore everything that is not on paper."

Petrovic then asks Karadzic about special warfare. Karadzic answers that "the enemy certainly has ways of conducting special warfare, they have a very wide special warfare repertoire, from telephone calls telling people that they have been sold, that they would be exchanged, to masquerading in our uniforms; this has proven to be a very powerful instrument and the Serbs have demonstrated that they are pretty susceptible to special warfare." He goes on to say that the Serbs are "gullible" and "have difficulty adjusting to order and order means that only the war presidency chairmen, Serb Republic [RS] civilian authorities, and the RS military command can make a decision which would mean moving the people. We shall make this even more complex, so that a decision on evacuating civilians will only be made jointly by the war presidency and the military commander. Furthermore, the order will be in written form and someone from the republican leadership—the president or the assembly chairman—will sanction it: only after this can civilians be moved. I wish to stress that there was no need for the people to leave Sipovo, because if the people had stayed there, defending Sipovo would have been easier; now Sipovo is on no man's land, and our defenses have been established just in front of it or rather behind it; however, the example of other towns proves that in places where people stay, where they opt for defending the town, defense is possible." Karadzic goes on to say that a lot depends on what the people are used to, because habit plays an important role. He says that in many areas, people are used to daily artillery shells and lately airplane bombs, yet they have not budged. He stresses that correspondents are making them sound like victims by not stating the number of casualties. He stresses that "the number of casualties is significantly smaller than it seems to be; it is a fact that in places where the people are disciplined, casualty numbers are significantly lower than the enemy would like; the army stays in such places and no one can be harmed."

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Petrovic then asks Karadzic about rumors pertaining to maps, deals on maps, which Karadzic vehemently denies, saying that the leadership has never had any secrets before the deputies. "The people have to understand that there are no maps; the Contact Group maps have been taken off the agenda, the U.S. initiative has blown them away; the 49 to 51 ratio is still valid, but only as a basis for a final agreement. The agreement itself can be completely different. Offensives are evidence of the fact that there are no maps, because if there were any maps, neither the Muslims nor the Croats would be dying. If anyone had promised them anything, they would not be dying for it, they would simply wait for it to be handed over." He adds further on that "it is obvious that the Muslims have been told several things: one, if you want Sarajevo, take it, because the Serbs will not give it to you, they will take at least half of it. They tried, with NATO's help, to frighten us and to move the people, but the people stayed put. They told them: if you want Gorazde, link up with it via Mt. Treskavica; if, however, you fail to do so, you will have to exchange it and that is why we had an offensive on Gorazde, and the four-week offensive on Sarajevo which has been completely crushed. If you want Srbobran, former Donji Vakuf, and Jajce, take it, because the Serbs will not give it you, they know that we are not going to hand anything over; we will not give it to them, we will not give anything that is important for our state and our territories." He goes on to say that "we have even signed a document with certain factors which states that the regions at the foot of Mt. Grmec and Mt. Kozara will remain in our hands, with the Una River and [Bosanska] Krupa on the Una River as our western border."

Karadzic reiterates that "we must not delude ourselves that the war could end anytime soon, but it could end soon. However, it can only end quickly if we are the victors, that is, if the Croats and Muslims have no military success. If we prevent their military successes, the resolution will come quickly, and in that case, the situation on the ground—as the Croats themselves admit—will play the most important role. We are going to explain to the people exactly what is being imposed on us, what is being offered us, what is being suggested; there will probably be a lot of pressure because it really is very difficult to draft a map; we have difficulty drafting a map without 65 to 66 percent, if we wish to include all our territories."

Moderator Petrovic then asks Karadzic to comment on the letters he sent to Moscow, Washington, and London. Karadzic says that "I have been forced to write to the three since Chirac has evidently turned against us and I did not want to bother the Chinese president because he is rather removed from the situation. I wanted to warn them of the dangers inherent in their behavior, that is, NATO's behavior. We are not a people without dignity or pride, and we can respond differently, and they could be blamed for the peace process falling through; that is probably what the Muslims want, but we must make it clear that this is a crime against a nation, and I must stress that never before has a small nation—less than 1.5 million inhabitants—its authorities and army labored under more difficult circumstances. It seems that there is no longer anyone who is not against us, at least officially. Even our mother country was recently against us."

Asked whether Russia's protest over the NATO bombings was simply for domestic consumption, or whether it could mean something, Karadzic says that he believes that it could have some meaning. He expresses gratitude to Yeltsin and says that "we expect him to take further steps to help us by supplying us with weapons if the war against us persists."

Petrovic then asks Karadzic about Russia's power. Karadzic says that "as far as supplying us with arms, its power is immense; we need nothing else but for it to open up a few warehouses so that we can help ourselves to what we need and we shall clobber our enemies, not only Muslims and Croats in Bosnia—of whom there are twice as many as us—but also Croatia. Croatia is a new factor in the war; it was always present, but now its presence is omnipresent." He goes on to say that "both the world and Yugoslavia must understand that Croatia has entered the war. If Yugoslavia does not want to enter the war, and it does not have to do so, it at least needs to bang its fist on the table, return our deserters, allow natural cooperation, and we shall then be able to compete with Croatia, despite the truly great number of enemies." Karadzic goes on to explain that the international community has kept the Croats and Bosnians afloat through the entire three and a half years of war in order to draw out the conflict. "There are several reasons for NATO bombings, and one of them is to put the stronger boxer in a weaker position so that the match can go on."

Petrovic then questions the circumstances in which the agreement in Geneva was signed. He feels that there is a disparity between the "recognition of the Serb Republic" and the "events that followed the next day." Karadzic answers by saying that "it cannot hurt us to be cautious. I believe that Geneva is an authentic U.S. interest and action." "However, the bombing could be taking place precisely because of Geneva; the Americans do not want to risk their initiative falling through, and therefore, one of the reasons is to secure the implementation of their initiative, their plan, by militarily damaging the Serbs to a great extent, by weakening them so that they

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have no desire to continue the war and thus accept the solution. This is unnecessary because if the solution is unacceptable, we shall not accept it."

Asked about whether Geneva could turn out to be a ruse, Karadzic says that "it could be a ruse designed to fool the Serbs and buy time for the Serb enemies so that they can do the job themselves. The bombing is designed to take certain important territories from the Serbs, or, God forbid, to defeat them, which would silence Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia, and allow them to say: you have no right to interfere with the conference, and so forth, threats of sanctions, and the like. Therefore, we have to be very cautious, participate in the peace process to the end, to the last signature, and until the world powers give their guarantees; until an interstate peace treaty is signed, guaranteed by world powers, we must not relax, we have to be ready for further sacrifices and fierce struggles for every inch, and when they reach the outskirts of a town, for every street. We must defend ourselves, they must not take any more towns."

The moderator then asks Karadzic about the rather reserved way in which the Geneva agreement has been greeted in the RS. He says that the Serbian media boisterously celebrated the event, while the RS is silent, and wonders why this is so. Karadzic answers that "the RS would have reason to celebrate if this were the Cutilheiro plan. He was the first to say—right before the war, on 18 March—that Bosnia does not exist as an integral state, it is made up of three parts." Karadzic adds further that "we have no reason to be triumphant, because our ultimate goal is an independent state and unification with Serbia, and according to this plan, this will have to be put on hold for a certain time, despite the fact that as far as the Muslims and Croats are concerned, we have been given our independence."

Petrovic then says that President Izetbegovic "has a completely different interpretation of the agreement, and sees a completely different future Bosnia." Karadzic laughs, and says "fine, we can say theoretically that if we were to feel better in Bosnia than in Serbia, we would stay in some sort of integral Bosnia. But such a Bosnia, comprising two entities—it does not exist, will not exist before the two entities are formed—is half Serb; then, half of the bodies of authority, institutions, annd commissions are Serb. This then, would be cooperation between two republics. It could happen that such a Bosnia, all of it, will join Yugoslavia, and so forth; everything is possible, and depends on what is better for the people. What we will not allow—permit me to be a party man for a moment, I am a member of the Serbian Democratic Party in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and I cannot ignore the fact—we, as a party, will not allow anyone to deceive the people, to trick them—some left or civic option—and integrate it back into the old state of Bosnia. We shall continuously draw the people's attention to this danger, all civic options are out of the question because they would allow the Muslims and Croats to have the majority. We want a national state, a state of Serb people."

Petrovic then says that listeners have been phoning in and proceeds to start with the questions. He says that a great number of questions pertain to "ties with Serbia and the famous Drina River." He suggests that Karadzic start by answering this question.

Karadzic says that there was never a feud between the people, while the leaderships parted ways. He goes on to say that "we have completely ironed out our differences with Serbia, but the border on the Drina River has not been abolished. I do not know why. The day we appeared in Geneva to participate in the peace process, formal conditions were achieved for abolishing the border on the Drina, and President Milosevic needs to do that. I will again urge him to do so, although it is probable that foreign factors are now allowing him to do so because they are afraid this might make us feel strong and prompt us to continue with the conquest of Bosnia."

Petrovic proceeds to the second question: "Can we be optimistic about Russia helping us at this moment?"

Karadzic says: "I think that today's news answers the question; on the other hand, we must realize that what is happening to us is actually a very dangerous precedent which could rebound on many countries. Many countries are candidates for breaking up, the PRC for example." He mentions another country, namely India, and says that there are many potential hot spots worldwide, adding that "a precedent is evolving here, a model according to which NATO and the United States police the world. This precedent could rebound on Russia, and that is why it is in Russia's great interest to maintain and save the Serb people and the RS."

Petrovic cites a question from Banja Luka: "What steps are we going to take against the increasingly aggressive left which is introducing confusion in the people, and which is being egged on by support from Serbia?"

Karadzic says that the people should be told "the left wants to take you back into socialism, communism, Alija's state. It is enough for us to reveal to the people who is who."

Petrovic moves on to a question asking who Drvar will belong to.

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"To the Serbs, of course," Karadzic answers. "Who else lived in Drvar? I believe there were perhaps a couple of families which were not Serbs."

Petrovic cites a question that asks why individuals from across the Drina River are deciding about the fate of the RS.

Karadzic denies this is so, and says that "the agreement we signed is an agreement on parity representation. I am the delegation head, and I appoint the other members; in the same way, President Milosevic is the head of the Yugoslav delegation and he decides who is to be in his delegation. It is only when the voting results are three to three, and we cannot agree, that President Milosevic's vote decides. This is a great responsibility, and I believe that he will never decide in such a way that would be detrimental to the Serb people as a whole, and to us here."

Petrovic proceeds to cite a question from Kotor Varos: "Are the Serbs to blame for NATO bombings?"

Karadzic laughs and answers: "They probably are; they are guilty of existing. We are guilty as an example, you see, they cannot stand us as an example of resistance to the new world order, as an example of resistance to enslavement, an example which saw through the NATO monstrosity and its impotence, its dinosaur proportions and redundancy. It is an absolutely unnecessary organization and it is bombing us for its own sake, to prove that it is necessary, and not because of us."

Another question pertains to student brigades, and whether students will be discharged from the army. Karadzic explains at some length that they have tried to keep students out of the war, but adds that "this is the crescendo, we are approaching the finish, and we must unfortunately mobilize everyone in the entire RS; we must dispatch several brigades to the Krajina, to the Mrkonjic-Grad region, in order to stop the offensive and liberate the occupied parts of municipalities. If the end is in sight, and we have gleaned from Croatian hints that they have been given very little time to achieve their goals, we need to stop them from doing so; that is why everything that breathes, everything that can be (?mobilized), must be dispatched to the Krajina, southern Krajina in order to defend this eminently Serb area; this is an area which for centuries has not been populated by anyone but the Serbs."

The next question asks what Karadzic expects of the peace process. He says that they have prepared for all options. "We will not be surprised if this is a trick, but we shall likewise not be surprised if it turns out to be a success, because the United States is, after all, a serious country. This is the first time that it has taken the leading role, and we should assume that it wants an end to this."

Petrovic proceeds to the next question, which asks whether there is a chance of all Serb lands uniting?

Karadzic answers that this is not only a chance, but it is inevitable because of the Serbs' natural inclination toward unification. "The Serb people cannot be at peace until they unite."

The next question asks: "Since Slobodan Milosevic is receiving congratulations for the recognition of the Serb Republic, why does he not acknowledge the defeat of the Republic of Serb Krajina?"

Karadzic says that the people have "notified the relevant addresses" about the defeat.

Sirens are heard in the background, whereupon Petrovic interrupts to announce that these are sounding an air raid alert in Banja Luka. He then proceeds to read out a question asking why Milosevic failed publicly to condemn the bombing of the Serbs "in the Serb Republic." Karadzic answers briefly by saying that Milosevic probably thinks that the Federal and Serbian Governments' condemnation was enough.

The next question asks why the army is not shelling Bosnian military and civilian targets while they are being pounded by NATO jets.

Karadzic answers that this is indeed the case, with the exception of the safe areas. "We do not want to justify NATO's actions. However, we are active, and against Croatian targets as well. According to international war law, retribution is legitimate."

Asked about what he thinks about the use of Tomahawk missiles, Karadzic says that the "people have never been defeated from the air, by Tomahawks or anything else. One can endure and survive all this. We will continue to live on our territory until they appear here. Imperial states used to be present here in the past, but we have survived and we have liberated ourselves. I think that this is the last price that we are paying for our freedom and independence. The West is very cruel and does not easily forgive success. This is some kind of moral justification since Bosnia is, after all, being, let us not say divided, but transformed, into two states. I think that this in a way represents another reason for the bombing. They also want to wash their hands of it, to say that they have done everything against the Serbs that they could, but that despite that the Serbs have survived and that there are no other cures for it."

Answering a question from a viewer from Banja Luka on why the Drvar municipality has been abandoned, Karadzic says:

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"It has not been abandoned by us. It has not been abandoned by the state or the army. It has been abandoned by the people, as they are not used to the shelling, the proximity of the enemy, and so forth. I do not think that people should have left any areas. They should have not left Drvar, either. You see that Drvar has not fallen. Drvar would have held even better had the people stayed in Drvar. I recommend that people return to Drvar. I guarantee to them that nothing worse will happen to them than what has happened to Doboj, the nine Sarajevo districts, or Teslic. Shells are landing there, but people are not giving up their property, they do not want to go. People should return to Drvar. The police are still there, the police and the post office are still there. The leadership is often there, most members of the leadership are there, except when they have to go away to solve some current problems. So, it means that the people should return, too. No one has ever won a war with artillery. There is no victory without infantry and we will not allow infantry to enter Drvar."

Asked by another viewer about the borders of the "Serb Republic" after it has been "recognized," Karadzic says:

"These are yet to be determined. Having recognized the state, the international community will have to recognize its borders. What we have is something that used to be a secret at one time, and was subsequently revealed, namely the strategic goals that were set by our assembly at the beginning of 1992. These strategic goals were put in the following order:

"The first is to separate ourselves, to separate ourselves at any price, as we have realized that outside Yugoslavia we do not have a future in someone else's country.

"The second is a significant link, we called it a wide corridor, a significant link between Krajina and Semberia. In other words between Krajina and Serbia. In terms of value, this was very high. I hope we have already won that, we have won a fairly wide corridor. In its narrowest part it is about 20 kilometers wide. This is what is being said in international circles.

"The third is that the Drina River is not a border. We have more or less achieved that. We actually (?do not want it) to be a border. It is an absurd that it has become a tight border. We do not want it to be a state border between Serbs. We have also achieved that, except for Gorazde. I think that Gorazde will have to be exchanged.

"The fourth is down in the Neretva River valley. We want the Neretva River to be a border between kingdoms [carstvo].

"The fifth is to get our part of Sarajevo.

"The sixth is to have access to the sea."

"We have still not gotten the Neretva valley militarily. The access to the sea will, in all probability, be solved in a political way. This will certainly be done to the satisfaction of Croatia. Croatia will perhaps have even more benefit from that as it is giving away an insignificant part of some 40 km of a rocky shore in return for some 200 to 250 square kilometers of hinterland around Dubrovnik. It is getting mountains right next to Dubrovnik, mountains that can be used for tourism. It is also getting a safety zone for Dubrovnik. I think that Croatia is getting about 8 to 9 percent more territory than we are. Therefore, this is in Croatia's interest. They are not going to do us any favors. I do not have any reason to believe that they would do us favors. They are doing themselves a favor. This is how we will achieve the sixth goal. The only thing left to do is to win a part of the Neretva valley, be it militarily or politically, as 44,000 Serbs, the Serbs from Mostar, if they were to get certain territory in the Neretva valley, could live there.

"We have more or less completed everything else. In the west, the border is the Una River, in the north the Sava River, in the east the Drina River, in the south the Neretva River and the sea. We hope that in central Bosnia we will preserve everything that has been ours since the beginning of the war, what we have liberated during the war, and that, in some places, we will even improve our positions and borders.

"I am convinced that a good map cannot be made with less than 50 to 55 percent [of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. [Words indistinct] two parts, three parts with the Posavina as a link between us, and two parts, the eastern and western parts of the republic. I (?do not like to) call them that as our home should be the Serb Republic, Serbhood. I know that the Herzegovians made some kind of declaration. I think that the people in Krajina also want to produce some kind of declaration. Nothing will come out of declarations. [words indistinct] our home is the Serb Republic, that is, Serbhood. We will finally take these borders to the assembly. I am sure that we cannot...[Karadzic changes thought] Many people have asked us to make our proposal. How can we propose something? Whenever we make our proposal it always turns out that we own 65 percent. I do not have the right to give away a single inch of Kupres to the Muslim-Croat federation. Therefore, I believe that by taking into account the interests of both entities, the international community will, in a way, impose the map. However, there are some maps that they can impose on us, but there are also some that they cannot even impose on us."

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In reply to a question by a viewer from Banja Luka on why heavy weapons are not being withdrawn from the "so-called protected area of Sarajevo," to end the NATO bombing, and whether this would constitute the loss of "Serb Sarajevo" Karadzic says:

"They have ordered the incident. They slaughter the people there in order to bomb us. If we had met that demand, then they would have set us another ultimatum. Twenty kilometers around Gorazde, and then another 20 km, then 20 km around Tuzla. We would then not have weapons in Brcko. They would then do the same for Doboj, Bihac; they would then harass us until we make a mistake and then they would bomb us again.

"You see, not only are they setting precedents here for their future behavior, but are also testing their weapons. They boast about the accuracy of these weapons and so forth. Regarding Sarajevo, I must say, and I am glad to be able to say it here, one should not fall for the enemy propaganda. Sarajevo for Sarajevo, nothing will be given on behalf of Sarajevo, nor can anything be given on anyone's behalf. [words indistinct] is ours. I must tell you that it is very important to hold the snake by its neck. If we had not had Sarajevo, the Muslims would never have negotiated. They would have simply looked after their state between Zenica, Sarajevo, and Tuzla, and would not have negotiated.

"All foreign analysts say that the division of Bosnia was generated by the division of Sarajevo, that the strangulation of Sarajevo has led to the realization that the Serbs must be given a state entity. You see, if we lost Sarajevo, God forbid, the Americans think the negotiations would be easier. This was one of the reasons, I seem to be constantly revealing to you new reasons for the bombing. One of the reasons for the bombing was to make the Serbs lose Sarajevo as Sarajevo is the most sensitive point in the negotiations. This is not correct. If the Muslims were to take Serb Sarajevo, they would not go to the conference, they would go toward the Drina River. If they then took the Drina River, they would then go for the Sava River, and if they took the Sava River, then there would be no Krajina. Everyone should know that every part of the Serb Republic is of crucial importance for other parts. We must defend the southern part of Krajina now, at any price. Even if they take something temporarily, we must retake it, as this is the Vrbas valley, which means Banja Luka. If we do not do that, we cannot say that we are not now concerned about, let us say Sipovo, since we are in Banja Luka, which is faraway. We are not faraway from anywhere. Terazije [part of Belgrade] is not far away from Sipovo."

Asked by another viewer about the existence of "17 types of weapons that have not been used yet," and whether the time is now right to use them, Karadzic answers:

"No, I said that our army, our engineers have made some 70 innovations in factories. This means that they have improved, perfected, and modernized some weapons. The Muslims very often do not know what we are hitting them with. Even the West says that the Serbs have made a missile to terrorize the civil population. This is in fact a very destructive missile produced by our engineers. They have also modified many other systems. If some systems were surface-to-air missiles, they were modified into surface-to-surface missiles, and so forth. I spoke about these innovations, the majority of which are being used. This has caused much confusion among our enemies as they did not know what we were hitting them with."

In reply to a question by a viewer from Banja Luka whether the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will defend eastern Slavonia, Karadzic says:

"I cannot answer this question. They have allegedly said that they would and that their defense was unified. However, it is very essential, it is very important that the people in eastern Slavonia rely, above all, on themselves. They have to defend themselves, at least for the first five, six, or 10 days. Then they will be defended by the entire world. If we had lasted 10 days in western Slavonia and Krajina, the Army of the Serb Republic would also have done something. We do not have surplus units to send to them, but we (?are brothers) and we would have changed some of our plans and sent the army there. Second, the entire world would have then jumped on Croatia. What is important is to endure, both this bombardment and the enemy's attacks on our lines. One must endure, endure, endure.... [words indistinct] One must endure. The people in eastern Slavonia must resist the aggression by Croatia, if it takes place. And then, everything will turn to their benefit. If the lines are abandoned, I am afraid we will have to introduce the strictest laws regarding [word indistinct]. No one has the right to leave his comrades in semiencirclement. No commander has that right. They will be punished most severely. It is very important that the commanders in eastern Slavonia remain very responsible and endure. If they endure for some time, everything will turn to their advantage.

Asked by the moderator at the end of the interview whether he wanted to say anything else, Karadzic says:

"What I would like to say is that we are near the full accomplishment of our goals, that we are near our goals. I do not want to predict the length of the war. We should

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remain mobile and cautious, as if the war is going to last a long time. And indeed it will last a long time if the enemy has successes. Time is working for them. The war could be a lot shorter if we are very fierce in crushing the enemy's offensives. The goal is here, we can see it. We must sprint for the finish line. We are surely not as unlucky as some athletes who fall before they reach the finish line. We must not fall. We will not fall. These people have great potentials. The army is the most experienced army in Europe. You know, the artillery attacks by ustashas mean nothing. When we take them on, when we accept the fight, they get the worst of it. We must and can survive if, in the next few weeks, we mobilize everything we can, and if everything is sent to the front, especially in southern Krajina—that is where the enemy offensives are being crushed—if all our territory is preserved. Then, there is a solution that we have fought for and paid for dearly. No one today has the right to give up such a sacred goal when it is in our sight, when so many young men have given their lives for it. I can say that the most radical in their demands are the families of the fighters who have been killed. They demand a state and do not want the blood of their children to be (?gambled away). They want our goals to be accomplished. We are there, this is all close."

Karadzic then goes on to say that "our people must be aware of their strength. We are now together with Serbia. Russia, too, is sending certain signals. We are in a good, favorable position. Of course, we must conduct a flexible policy regarding things that do not cost us anything, and we are conducting such a policy. After all, diplomacy boils done to flexibility. But our policy must be firm and unyielding in the situations in which we cannot yield.

"So, the people must understand that if we, at times, have a more flexible attitude toward other countries, then this certainly involves nonvital matters. For instance, regarding the end of the bombing, we should come up with a flexible option and give them a reason to stop the bombing. At the same time, however, the key issue, the disarmament of the people, is out of the question. We are in complete accord on that. The people cannot be disarmed. We can accept an option that would involve the supervision of our conduct, or shooting. We can accept that. I hear that Carter has sent me a letter today in which he is offering that our weapons can remain where they are and be supervised by Russian UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members. We can consider that, but the disarming of our people is out of the question. In brief, I want our people to feel their strength."

Plavsic Comments on Bombing, Weapons Withdrawal

AU1309170095 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by SRNA: "The West Wants the Serb Military To Collapse"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic yesterday warned that the withdrawal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo would mean a crime against one's own people, "as the Muslims would immediately attack the disarmed Serbs," SRNA reports.

In the Open Studio program of the Serbian Radio and Television in Banja Luka, Dr. Plavsic supported a proposal by General Ratko Mladic that any possible withdrawal of artillery be previously discussed with the Muslim side.

According to Dr. Plavsic, bombing of the Serbian targets in the Sarajevo zone by NATO aircraft has several strategic objectives, of which the most important one is that the Serbs be militarily destroyed.

"NATO and the international community decided for such a drastic method in a desire that the Serbian representatives enter into these peace talks with a notion that the Serbian people are exposed to constant bombardment and that because of this, they must embrace the arrangements dictated by them," the Serb Republic vice president assessed.

She added that the bombardment is aimed to simultaneously produce a certain effect on the Muslim side, to create an impression that the West is entirely on their side.

The Serb Republic vice president reminded that Izetbegovic always spoke about some sort of integral and unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina; "however, with the acceptance of the Contact Group plan, he agreed that Bosnia be divided into two parts."

"Not managing to achieve this over the past three years, the Muslims now wish to propel the Serbian people into a mass-scale exodus with the assistance of NATO aircraft and the Rapid Reaction Force, which is a futile task," Dr. Plavsic said.

Her assessment was that Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha should not attend the forthcoming ministerial meeting in Geneva.

"Only when the bombardment of Serbian civilians is stopped and all other conditions are secured on an equal basis can the negotiations be held," Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic concluded.

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Serb Foreign Minister Appeals to Orthodox Nations

LD1309223895 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Serb Republic Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha today proposed, in a letter to the government representatives of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Greece, Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Ethiopia in Belgrade, the setting up of a contact group for former Bosnia-Herzegovina consisting of Orthodox countries.

Your excellency, Buha says in his letter, you know that at the Geneva meeting of 8 September an exceptionally important step toward establishing peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was made by adopting basic principles for resolving the crisis in this area. These principles, among other things, officially recognize the existence of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the legitimacy of its constitution, constitutional system, and government, Buha says in his letter and adds:

This gives us grounds for officially turning to your government with a proposal for a very important diplomatic initiative, which can have visible constructive effect on the successful ending of the peace talks on former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Excellency, our peoples belong to the same civilizational and cultural circle, the circle of Orthodox nations, it is recalled in Buha's letter to representatives of the Orthodox countries in Belgrade and stated that this link makes our peoples spiritually close and close by fate. Hence the indisputable joint interests of our peoples and a need for stronger mutual cooperation and ties between Orthodox peoples and for their joint performance on the international scene, Buha says and goes on:

If there was one thing the people of the Serb Republic learned from the four-year bloody civil, religious, and intranational war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was the fact that Islamic and Catholic countries have sided with our war enemies, and that we have been left alone.

We believe this is an historic inevitability to which we should adequately respond. Because of NATO bombing the Serb people have been brought to the brink of destruction. This should never ever happen to any other Orthodox nation.

In this respect the Government of the Serb Republic maintains that Orthodox peoples must form stronger ties and play a more significant role in the modern world, including the present civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina in which the Serb Orthodox people have been exposed to unprecedented and unprovoked pressure by the Catholic, Protestant, and Islamic worlds, which demand and support the genocide campaign of bombing the entire territory and people of the Serb Republic.

The so-called contact group of the Islamic countries is even a recognized and accepted partner in peace talks on former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Buha warns in his letter and stresses that Orthodox countries should respond by forming their own contact group. The Government of the Serb Republic sincerely believes that for the purpose of protecting this part of the Orthodox world Orthodox countries should become more resolutely involved in the current peace process by urgently setting up a special contact group of Orthodox countries for former Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are historic, political, and spiritual grounds for this, Buha explains and concludes that Orthodox countries could thus demonstrate their fundamental interests in the fate of threatened parts of the Orthodox world and thus establish a badly needed balance of interests.

This would also contribute to the creating of more constructive conditions for achieving a rational and just peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and laying foundations for badly needed future political cooperation and the organization of Orthodox countries for the purpose of protecting Orthodox civilization, political and cultural traditions, as well as the promotion of world peace, cooperation, and understanding.

I beg you most kindly to inform your government about this initiative by the Serb Republic and about the fact that the other Orthodox countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa have all been told about it, Buha says at the end of the letter that was sent to the representatives of the governments of the Orthodox countries in Belgrade.

Serb Army: NATO Supporting Muslim Offensive

LD1309151495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 13 Sep (SRNA)—Prompted by the continuation of NATO air attacks on civilian targets, infrastructure facilities, and the Serb Republic army, the information service of the main staff of the Serb Republic army [BSA] has issued a statement whose full text reads as follows:

"BSA has reliable information confirming that coordinated activities are being carried out by NATO, the Croat-Muslim coalition, and certain UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] contingents.

"All targets in the Serb Republic being bombarded by NATO have been chosen—according to their importance—by the Croat and Muslim sides. General Rasim Delic, commander of the Muslim forces, has been in daily contact with the Pentagon coordinating

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actions and requesting destruction of certain Serb facilities. According to an agreement, the NATO command sends its schedule of air actions for the following day to Croats and Muslims, informing them on the targets that will be attacked. At the same time the NATO command demands that their forces carry out simultaneous actions in those zones or monitor the effects of attacks on targets.

"A great number of facilities that have been targeted over the past few days in Pale, Vogosca, Hadzici, Gorazde, Srbinje, Mt. Ozren, Doboj, Mt. Majevica, Grmec, Nevesinje, Teslic, and other places are situated in the immediate vicinity of front lines, where Croat and Muslim forces lit fires, sent flares, or otherwise guided NATO air forces to strike selected targets.

"In its operation launched from the so-called protected zone of Tuzla against Mt. Ozren and Vozuca on 10 September, the 2d Muslim Corps was directly supported by NATO heavy fire against Serb positions as Muslim forces were advancing. In this way, NATO was directly involved in the attacks on this front.

"According to well-informed sources, the Muslim government in Sarajevo has reached a secret agreement with NATO, under which NATO was instructed to destroy the most important Serb facilities in order to create prerequisites for cancelling the Serb advantage in heavy weapons. Talks on reciprocal obligations were conducted during the last meeting between Muslim Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic and NATO Secretary General Willy Claes in Brussels on 4 September. At the end of the meeting Claes promised that everything would be done to fulfill the agreement and destroy the most important Serb military and civilian targets, and in return gain permission for NATO to deploy forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina on a long-term basis.

"All this indicates that both the United States and NATO are committed to further air raids against the Serbs, regardless of whether they are guilty or not, since the air raids, however barbaric as far as the Serb nation is concerned, are part of a package of obligations and debts that NATO has vis-a-vis the Muslim and Croat side," the BSA main staff says in conclusion.

Bosnian Serbs Deny 'Misinformation' on Gains

LD1309222795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Serb military sources this evening denied reports that Muslim-Croatian forces have occupied a part of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic. The statement of the information service of the Army of the Serb Republic says:

"As part of the operation to destroy the Serb Republic, the headquarters of the United Nations, the Pentagon, Zagreb and Sarajevo have today disseminated misinformation that the Muslim-Croatian forces in cooperation with NATO forces have occupied a part of the Serb Republic. This misinformation is an element of the media operation to destabilize certain parts of the Republic, in particular the municipalities in the western part of the territory of the Republic.

"The truth is that units of the Army of the Serb Republic on this part of the front are firmly holding their positions and are daily inflicting great losses on the united enemy," the statement says in conclusion.

East Herzegovina Serbs Define Their Border

AU1409073495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 95 p 9

[Article by D.B.: "Yet Another of the People's Dreams"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the exception of recent brief reports about occasional skirmishes on the Herzegovina-Dubrovnik front and "concentration of the Croatian troops on the borders of Trebinje municipality" there have been no reports from that area lately. Here and there the famous Trebinje mayor would threaten the southern neighbor in his characteristic style and things would die down again. The same goes for the danger of the Croatian Army which, immediately after Krajisnik's departure for Serbia, caused a considerable migration wave in this area (mostly to Niksic, to a lesser extent to Podgorica, and to the villages around Boka Kotorska) of which the public was not informed.

Refugees mostly returned (Is it really because of the stability of troops on the front?) and the Herzegovinians again threw themselves into politics. For that reason the session of the Coordinating Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of the Serbian Lands (SDSSZ), which passed "a Declaration on East Herzegovina" in Gacko recently, did not come as a surprise. The declaration speaks about "the rights of the Serbian people in east Herzegovina and the borders of this part of the Serb Republic." The text of the declaration, which was also signed by all representatives of the east Herzegovina municipalities, actually (according to a SRNA report) speaks more about borders than about rights, which are only mentioned in the part that emphasizes that "the people of east Herzegovina reserve themselves all rights to the liberation of the temporarily occupied territories."

This definitely refers to that part of Trebinje municipality, following the line of the former narrow railroad not far from Duzi, across Hum and further in the direction of Poljice and Ravno, where the Croatian armed

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forces gained complete control over the increasingly safer "Dubrovnik hinterland" more than two years ago.

It was again made plain on this occasion that the border of "east Herzegovina" (former Serbian Autonomous Region in Bosnia-Herzegovina) runs over "settlements on the left bank of the Neretva as the natural border" to Bradina and Konjic in the north, Montenegro (not the FRY) in the east, and "the Dubrovnik territory in the south." Speaking about this, Bileca Mayor Milorad Vujovic reiterated to a reporter of NASA BORBA that there was no talk "about the separatism of the Herzegovinians, which malicious people immediately started speculating on" at the meeting but that the adoption of this document was delayed because they were awaiting the adoption of a similar document by "the Serbian Sarajevo."

At first glance, two facts create some confusion. The first is that SDSSZ President Velimir Ostojic was not present in Gacko and the other, perhaps even more important one is that Vujovic had fought off the mere thought of separatism before anything was even known about it.

It is possible that in some of the future barter about one of the two possibilities of Herzegovinians (the Serb Republic) gaining access to the sea—within the Neum-Klek stretch or between Dubac and Debeli Brijeg, that is, to the steep coast behind Molunat near Radovic—a part of Herzegovina (with the exception of the Dubrovnik hinterland already lost) will be offered in exchange for the much promised access to the Adriatic Sea. The truth is that the mood of the Dubrovnik side is completely different ("not a centimeter of the coast to the neighbors") and one should not dismiss entirely the tendency of the Herzegovinians, long concealed from the center in Pale—to join Montenegro and henceforth mother country Serbia, either. Or perhaps, as a prominent member of the Trebinje Serbian Democratic Party said for NASA BORBA this is "yet another of the people's dreams."

Reactivation of 2d Corps' 28th Division Reported

95BA0335C Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 10-17 Aug 95 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Men From Srebrenica in the Ranks Once Again"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 28th Division of the 2d Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been formed in Tuzla. The officers and men of the 28th Division were reviewed by Army General Rasim Delic, commander of our Army's General Staff, by Brigade Gen. Enver Hadzihasanovic, chief of the General Staff, and Brigadier Sead Delic, commander of the 2d Corps. Naser Oric, commander of the 28th Division of the 2d Corps, reported for the first time to Gen. Delic as the head of echelons of soldiers belonging to the people driven out of Srebrenica and the Drina Valley.

In spite of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressors and Karadzic's chetniks, who by means of conspiracy and betrayal of the international community plan to destroy both the people and soldiers of Srebrenica, the 28th Division of the 2d Corps has in a very short time risen up like a phoenix from torched and pillaged Srebrenica. Those in formation included those who for 10 days and nights, naked and barefoot, poorly armed or not armed at all, walked through chetnik ambushes toward free territory, toward some of the units of the 2d Corps which were coming to meet them in order to relieve and shorten the golgotha they were experiencing.

The officers and men of the 28th Division were addressed by Army Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The message of both the commander and the men of the 28th Division is short and clear: "We have formed up in order to go back to Srebrenica."

Following the review of the 28th Division, Army Gen. Rasim Delic made a statement: "I had occasion to attend and to receive the report from Brig. Naser Oric, commander of the 28th Division. I emphasized that during these two days of the session of the parliament. Alongside all the tragedy of Srebrenica and Zepa, a tragedy arranged for us mainly by the international community, there is light in that darkness. Our fighting men are that light, and under the worst and fiercest circumstances they have reached the free territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by breaking through the encirclement."

Government Reports on Sarajevo Casualties

95BA0335F Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17-24 Aug 95 p 29

[Article by Dl.O.: "From 1 January to 7 August in Sarajevo: 460 Killed, 2,097 Wounded"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of victims of aggression has increased as the year 1995 has progressed. The months of January and February each saw one person killed in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in March there were 13, and in April no fewer than 30. Over that same period, during the four-month truce, 239 people were wounded (January—21, February—27, March—71, and April—120).

However, the gloomy statistics have risen progressively. In May, there were 64 killed and 221 wounded; in June,

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186 killed and 1,061 injured; and between 3 and 30 July, 152 were killed and 547 wounded.

In the first week of August, 13 were killed in Sarajevo and 29 wounded. The population is still without food, water, electricity, and natural gas.

The Republic Headquarters for Health and Social Security reports that in the last week of August the epidemiological situation was worse than in the same period of last year. Thus, the morbidity rate increased from 5.57 (1994) to 19.53. This was affected by a new increase in cases of enterocolitis, which climbed to 297 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 189 of those in Sarajevo.

All kinds of drugs, vitamins, mineral preparations, disinfectants, bandaging material, orthopedic aids, and equipment for physical medicine and rehabilitation are on the list of urgent needs for the social protection and health care of the population. There is also a shortage of aluminum foil, candles, and all kinds of building materials, the bulletin of the Republic Headquarters for Health and Social Security concluded.

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Government Views Reintegration of Eastern Slavonia

Tudjman Warns Russian Envoy

LD1309141695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following statement from the office of the president:

In the presidential palace today, the president of the Republic of Croatia received Igor Ivanov, the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation. On this occasion, views were exchanged on the ways of resolving the crisis in the area in light of the latest negotiations in Geneva.

Mr. Ivanov outlined the proposals that Russia will put forward at the next meeting of the Contact Group and expressed the view on the need for NATO to end its action as precondition for further talks.

Reference was also made to the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem in the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia. The two sides agreed this problem should be part of the same package as the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In view of the 80,000 Croat refugees from that area, President Tudjman stressed an urgent need for resolving this problem. If this cannot be done by peaceful means and before the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate expires and the negotiations in Geneva begin, Croatia will no longer tolerate any delays, President Tudjman said.

On the Russian side, the talks were attended by Russian Ambassador to Croatia Leonid Kerestedzhiyants and Vladimir Ivanovskiy, deputy head of the First European Department in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In addition to President Tudjman, on the Croatian side the talks were attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader; Dr. Miomir Zuzul, the president's special envoy; and Dr. Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser.

Granic Views Transition Period

AU1309184595 Paris AFP in English 1821 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, Sept 13 (AFP)—Croatia would accept a one-year transition period in disputed eastern Slavonia if the Serbs promise to pull-out after that, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said here Wednesday.

Granic, speaking at a news conference, said eastern Slavonia—occupied by Serbs since 1991—had to be an integral part of the peace plan now being negotiated.

He said making progress on the issue was the "main purpose of my visit."

Eastern Slavonia, representing just less than five percent of the Croatian territory—is the last region of Croatia still in Serb hands since the retaking of the Krajina region from secessionist Serbs.

Zagreb has since demanded the return of eastern Slavonia before the end of the November, while Belgrade has taken steps to guard the region against a possible attack.

Meanwhile, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher called on Croatia to humanely treat Serbs in the region.

At the news conference, Granic estimated that some 90,000 Croats had been "ethnically cleansed" from eastern Slavonia.

The Croatian diplomat also vowed the government would punish any soldiers found to have committed atrocities themselves, saying he would "accept all fact-finding missions" regarding alleged barbaric acts committed by Croatians after the fall of Krajina.

Croatia Prepares for Parliamentary Elections

LD1309194995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept. 13 (TANJUG)—Croatia is making speedy preparations for parliamentary elections which, according to Zagreb announcements, are to be held by the end of the year.

The governing Croatian Democratic Union has concluded that the time has come for parliamentary elections—the population has been completely overwhelmed by national euphoria after the fall of some parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Croatian Democratic Union is trying to use that feeling (triggered by the fall of the Knin region in early August) to secure the majority vote. Consequently, absolute power would remain in the current regime's hands.

Under one of the bills from the new government package that is to be urgently discussed by parliament later in the week or early next week, the lower house will include 127 deputies who will be elected according to a combined majority-proportional system, based on the five percent vote minimum.

The bill provides for seven seats for national minorities, Serbs being declared as one under the Croatian Constitution.

Before the Croatian Democratic Union rose to power, however, Serbs were one of the constituent nations and accounted for 22 percent of the population.

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Zagreb's denial of the status to Serbs and decision to launch a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia, triggered a war between Croats and Krajina Serbs.

More than 350,000 people lived in the Republic of Serb Krajina before Croatia's latest aggressions who invariably voted against life under the current Zagreb regime.

Serbs who recognise the Zagreb regime hold 13 seats in the Croatian Parliament. Under the new government bill, however, they will be granted only three seats.

If parliament adopts the bill, it will openly admit that today Serbs account only for 2.36 percent of the Croatian population.

According to the 1991 census, whose results were immediately denied by Krajina Serbs, Serbs accounted for 12.6 percent of the population.

About 300,000 Serbs have fled Croatia since the Croatian Democratic Union rose to power, with Croatia's aggression on southern and northern parts of Serb Krajina in early August triggering an exodus of about 250,000 Krajina Serbs.

Croats living abroad will also be allowed to vote in coming elections. It is believed that there are about 420,000 Croat emigrants with the right to vote who will be secured 12 seats in the lower house.

After the seizure of the Knin region, the Zagreb regime has stepped up invitations to emigrants to return to their country and settle down in regions where Serbs have lived for more than seven centuries.

One of a number of Serb monasteries in these regions, the Krupa monastery, was built as far back as 1317.

Hadzic Views Eastern Slavonia Elections

AU1309152795 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 7

[Interview with Goran Hadzic, first Krajina president and coordinator for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, by Rade Brajovic, Vojimir Jovsic, and Miroslav Stefanovic; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hadzic] We want an agreement with Croatia that would guarantee safety and lasting survival to the people in the area. We conveyed this to Thorvald Stoltenberg, the peace mediator, and demonstrated, in my opinion, full flexibility regarding the solution to the problem.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Goran Hadzic, first president of the Republic of Serb Krajina and current president of the Coordinating Committee for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, expressed this view in talks with Rade Brajovic, editor in chief of VECERNJE NOVOSTI; Vojimir Jovsic, VECERNJE NOVOSTI editor; and Miroslav Stefanovic, head of the VECERNJE NOVOSTI office in Vojvodina. In Pacetin, his hometown, he answered several questions regarding the current situation in the area.

[Hadzic] We are ready for negotiations and agreements, but if an agreement is not reached, the Croatian side will be to blame. This is significant for us, because it is obvious that the international community is trying to draw the Serbs into the war, and we must not allow that to happen. [passage omitted]

New Bodies of Authority

[Hadzic] After everything that has happened in a part of the Krajina, expectations of a new assembly being set up in the area, a new government elected (comprising fewer departments that is usual), and a new president and prime minister elected are understandable.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Is something similar being planned—on a different basis of course—in order to respond to the challenge presented by the current situation and to enable meritorious talks with international factors and the Croatian side?

[Hadzic] The assembly must be elected and a constituent session held as soon as possible, in a week's time at the latest, and a decision must be made in agreement with relevant factors in Serbian areas that will best suit the people. It is certain that the former assembly did not demonstrate political maturity. In addition to honorable and honest deputies, there are also those on whom we can no longer rely. We should, therefore, form an assembly that will have the legitimacy of municipal assemblies. The people should be offered the best. We do not need a political leadership that will change its mind 15 times while traveling from Belgrade to Knin, via Pale and Banja Luka.

It is particularly important that true representatives of the people are elected, all the more so because in the last assembly, many deputies did not worry about the fate of these same people.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Does that mean that the present deputies will not remain in the assembly, but that new ones will be elected? How will elections be organized in war conditions?

[Hadzic] Yes, new deputies will be elected. New authorities should be set up in 10 to 15 days, and, of course, new elections should be held in a few months. At the same time, I believe we should maintain the continuity of the Republic of Serb Krajina, but with the people who live here.

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Following the fall of a part of the Krajina, only a spark was needed in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem to inspire the people to join the exodus. Luckily, reason prevailed, as did the wish to remain on one's land in peace.

We do not have a choice but to finish the job in a way that is most favorable for the Serb people. The process of setting up authorities and the election of a new leadership must be done as soon as possible because it is high time for it. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] If you were to be nominated for RSK president, would you accept?

[Hadzic] My mistake was entering the 1993 election campaign, as an unsubstantiated campaign was then launched against me. The people will decide who will lead them. In 1991 no one wanted to shoulder the responsibility. Afterwards, to quote my father, as soon as this became a paying job, they all came rushing. Yet when this happened to Knin and other places, no one opened his mouth. Then they demanded that I say something, so I did. To be honest, I would not welcome the job, but if they were to decide that I should do the job, and if this is what the people want, I will accept this great responsibility, but only from a desire to finish what we started and to have lasting peace in the area.

Difficulties for Return of Krajina Serbs Seen

AU1309121995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 95 p 8

[Article by V.I.: "Procedure With Delays"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Apart from the fact that, unwillingly, they have lost their homes, many people who have fled Krajina, Banija, and Kordun these days have an additional problem: how to obtain the administrative preconditions for their return home (if this becomes possible) and how to get travel documents to enable them, definitely perhaps, to leave the region. This applies not only to Serbs, but also to no small number of Croats, who, together with the Serb refugees, left the territory of Krajina in which they lived until recently.

Let us recall that the Croatian authorities, through a regulation that they recently passed, gave a deadline of 30 days in which it was possible to return to the deserted homes; the Yugoslav authorities have nothing against these people returning to their homes if they want to, but, as usual, administrative obstructions have arisen. A crucial one is that men aged between 16 and 60 may not obtain a valid travel document.

The Bureau of the Croatian Government in Belgrade has already registered more than 1,500 requests for return, from both Serbs and Croats, but the procedure is conditioned by the participation of UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], which has to take these lists, include them in their own records, and then provide all those who satisfy the conditions with a collective passport to enter Croatia. This procedure has been called "a collective return"; there is also the possibility of individual arrangements.

For individual cases, there are two types of criteria: departure with the passports of the (Socialist) Federative Republic of Yugoslavia for Serbs, or with foreign travel documents for Croats. The precondition for these documents to be issued is the agreement of the office of the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Belgrade, regardless of whether it concerns Serbs or Croats. With that compliance, it is then necessary to apply to the city police for a foreigner's travel document or to the Ministry of Interior for a passport (in Belgrade's municipality of Palilula, or at local police stations, depending on where in the FRY the refugees are staying).

The procedure for getting these documents takes at least 15 days. Citizens of Serb nationality who want to return individually need also the agreement of the Croatian Interior Ministry, according to one interpretation, or a certificate that they are registered in the Croatian registry of births, with the remark that this has been issued for the purpose of entering the Republic of Croatia. These are probably not all the formalities, but in the general confusion, it has only proved possible to obtain this information about the necessary procedures.

Of course, this does not exclude the possible obstacles that many will have to face once they get involved in the adventure of return, which has not been "signed" by the FRY or Croatia in any agreement, never mind an internationally valid one. The only thing certain is that men of military age cannot count on leaving the FRY, particularly for Croatia.

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Accord Signed With Greece on Normalizing Ties

LD1309223495 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2111 GMT 13 Sep 95

[Unscheduled announcement]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Here is our correspondent from New York [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] The dilemma that lasted two and a half days here has finally been solved. The agreement has been signed. The text of the agreement has not yet been distributed to the press.

The first information on what the accord contains was given by Cyrus Vance, who expressed his unconcealed satisfaction, saying that this was a very happy day, because an agreement has been signed which will bridge the differences between the two states; this represents a historic agreement of profound significance for goodneighborly relations and peace in the entire region.

He congratulated the two ministers on their efforts for the prosperity and good relations between the two states; he welcomed the agreement which is based on the provisions of international law. According to Vance, here is what today's agreement contains:

The first point says that each side will respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other state and that the inviolability of borders will be guaranteed;

This agreement provides for the recognition of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] by Greece, and the establishment of diplomatic relations; it provides for [word indistinct]; it says that the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia is in accordance with international law and good neighborly relations between states; it provides for the free flow of people and goods across the border; and, what is most important, it provides for the lifting of the embargo imposed by Greece on 16 February 1994, as well as open and cooperative economic ties.

The provision on the lifting of the embargo within 30 days. Asked what this exactly means, Mr. Vance explained that details would be forthcoming. It also means resolving problems by peaceful means, promoting peace and security.

Asked if the agreement contains the issue of the name [of Macedonia], he replied that he will propose that this issue be discussed but that it was not part of the agreement. [words indistinct]

[Announcer] I would like to ask you something: why was there a slowdown in the negotiations today, what was disputed?

[Correspondent] Excuse me for just a moment. The Greek foreign minister had to leave New York immediately after the news conference and return to Greece because of the internal problems there—the government crisis, etc. He gave a brief statement, saying that he was satisfied, that this was a good moment and said that Greece's position on the name remains the same. We are now expecting a statement from our foreign minister.

Why was there a slowdown? Certain technical details had to be ironed out and certain formulations defined before the reaching of the agreement itself. Parallel talks had to be conducted.

[Announcer] Was this only due to technical details or were additional conditions being set and compromises demanded of the Macedonian side?

[Correspondent] No, there have been no new conditions. We learned unofficially that everything revolved around the issue of the lifting of the embargo and formulations pertaining to the issue of the embargo; but I am speculating now because this has become common practice at the United Nations over the past two days. We will be informed about this following the statement by our foreign minister.

Further on Agreement

LD1409110595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—Greece and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) have signed an agreement on the normalisation of relations between the two neighbouring countries.

Their dispute dates back to the winter of 1991 when FYROM seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation.

Foreign ministers Karolos Papoulias and Stevo Crvenkovski signed the agreement on Wednesday evening in the presence of U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

The agreement was also signed by former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance who served as the U.N. mediator.

Under the agreement, which is to start being implemented a month from the signature, Greece is to end a trade embargo it imposed on its northern neighbour in February 1994 and FYROM is to remove a 16-pointed symbol from its flag.

The two countries agreed to respect each others' sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence while accepting their mutual border as internationally recognised and inviolable border lines.

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They also agreed to open diplomatic offices in their capitals Athens and Skopje.

The two sides did not however resolve the question of FYROM's name.

From the outset of FYROM's peaceful secession from Yugoslavia, Athens was emphatically opposed to its neighbour using the name Macedonia, or any other word which derives from that name, because it considers that this implies FYROM's territorial pretensions on the Greek northern province of the same name.

After the signing of the agreement Vance said that the two countries had made a historic step which would enable them to live normally on the basis of international norms and to enjoy friendly relations.

Vance said that talks are to continue on the name of Greece's northern neighbour and other outstanding issues in the coming weeks through his mediation and under the patronage of Butrus-Ghali.

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Walesa Holds News Conference on National Defense

LD1309130195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa refused to pass judgment on generals who served in the army during the communist period. The president held a news conference today on matters of national defense. Our reporter Andrzej Jelenski reports:

[Jelenski] The news conference focused on defense issues. Lech Walesa described as somewhat unfortunate the fact that the draft law on the financing of national defense, which was prepared by the president's office, was taken off the Sejm agenda.

During the conference, the president made no comment on the statements by Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, who spoke about the rebirth of the old structures of the previous political system in the Army. The president promised to invite the general to future news conferences.

Henryk Goryszewski, head of the National Security Bureau, who also took part in the news conference, described integration into NATO and the creation of a stable system of financing the Army as the most important problems of Poland's defense. Allocations for the Army fell by 50 percent. According to Goryszewski, it is also essential to restructure the defense industry, to modernize the armed forces, and to introduce a clear division of responsibilities for the Polish Armed Forces.

Poll Shows Decreasing Support for Oleksy, Cabinet

WS1409101295 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by NIKA: "CBOS: Do We Like the Prime Minister? Increasingly Fewer People Support Oleksy and His Governing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of people who are glad the government is headed by Jozef Oleksy has decreased from 48 percent to 37 percent. Those are the results of an opinion poll conducted between 1 and 4 September by the Public Opinion Research Center. Our evaluation of the entire government is also worse: The number of its opponents has increased from 24 percent to 29 percent; only every fourth respondent supports it. The results of the government's work were positively evaluated by 38 percent of the respondents and negatively by 34 percent.

A majority believes that this government does not differ at all from the Pawlak Cabinet. Only every 11th person believes that this government is worse. An opposite opinion was expressed by 37 percent.

Two-thirds of the respondents believe that the government is favoring some social groups at the expense of others. According to them, it supports private entrepreneurs and public-sector employees. It forgets the needs of pensioners, senior citizens, and peasants. Only 16 percent of the respondents say that it is treating all citizens equally.

Those who are convinced that the prime minister is guided primarily by the interests of his own grouping are more numerous (44 percent) than those who claim that his primary concern are the interests of the state (30 percent).

Currently, two-fifths of the respondents express the opinion that the Democratic Left Alliance has more power than the other coalition partner. Only 7 percent point to the Polish Peasant Party. One in four respondents believes that the groupings have the same amount of power.

Anti-Semitism in Election Campaign Explored

WS1209132195 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 26-27 Aug 95 pp 11-13

[Article by Dawid Warszawski: "I Would Be Proud If I Were Jewish"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In Poland, differently from in Western democracies, one can be an anti-Semite and still pass for a decent person. Dawid Warszawski examines the anti-Semitic undertones of the previous presidential campaign.*

* * *

The scandal that erupted as a result of Father Henryk Jankowski's anti-Semitic sermon in St. Brigida's Church in Gdansk and the evasiveness with which Lech Walesa, who attended that Mass, presented his position on the issue, aroused fears in many observers of a revival of anti-Semitism in Polish political life. The instrumental treatment of anti-Semitism by Lech Walesa in the 1990 presidential campaign created a precedent in this regard.

Dawid Warszawski retracks and reviews those events. This article is an abridged version of the chapter titled "The Role of Anti-Semitism" from the book *The Battle for the Belweder*, edited by Miroslawa Grabowska and Ireneusz Krzeminski and published in 1991 by Wydawnictwo Literackie and the Mysl Publishing House.

* * *

In June 1990, Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa issued a statement condemning past and present acts of anti-

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Semitism in Poland and the world, the only public figure in Poland to do so.

The anniversary of the Kielce pogrom, to be held the following month, served as pretext for that statement. In his book *The Leader* (published in Warsaw, 1991), former Walesa spokesman Jaroslaw Kurski suggests that Walesa's intention was to offset possible libel that anti-Semitism was the underlying motive for his conflict with Adam Michnik on the issue of the GAZETA WYBORCZA newspaper. That had not been the issue at the root of that conflict, Walesa later declared at a preelection rally in Bialystok (GAZETA, 29 October 1990)—although nobody had claimed it had.

Yet this gesture was not supported by action (not to mention commemoration of a plaque walled into the front of a building where, in 1946, the Kielce pogrom had occurred). Further, the political climate visibly worsened soon thereafter.

In a speech opening the 12 June meeting of the Civic Committee [of Solidarity], Lech Walesa said he had heard talk that a clique had once again carved up the pie and that people were saying they are Jews. The chairman did not comment on these suppositions. Neither did any of the participants in the stormy discussion that followed, which ended in the departure from the committee of most of its founding members and the creation of ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action], a new political party, two months later. A month after that, Lech Walesa made a comment in reference to that party at a Civic Committee meeting, saying: "We cannot fight them openly without running the risk of being accused of anti-Semitism." Answering my question at an impromptu press conference, whether, in light of what he had said, he believes ROAD is a "Jewish party," Lech Walesa replied: "Well, no, but look who's in it: Michnik, Turowicz, Geremek.... Why are they concealing their origin? I'm proud to be Polish, but if I were Jewish, I'd be proud of it." And, in response to a question from the BBC correspondent as to whether biological origin is of any political relevance, Walesa answered: "It shouldn't in a normal, democratic country, but we are just emerging from communism and have to be cautious."

Hence, anti-Semitism in its extremist, rascist form found its way into political parlance. I doubt, however, if Lech Walesa was aware of all of the implications of the words he uttered. Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the Civic Committee, who happened to be present at this press conference, asked me not to publicize Walesa's statement.

There is no reason to believe that Lech Walesa is anti-Semitic (which he repeatedly and categorically has denied). It seems he has simply used anti-Semitic phraseology as a convenient tool for fighting political opponents, mobilizing in his support the section of the electorate that at least tolerates anti-Semitism. Even if it were assumed Lech Walesa's personal opinions are a private matter, which does not appear so obvious in the case of a public figure, the social consequences of his public enunciations are no longer merely a private matter.

Walesa's statements were written into the context of the election campaign as it gathered momentum. In it, the issue of anti—Semitism and the discussion of the issue acquired material significance. Walesa was already a candidate for the office of president when he made the statements quoted above, though formally the campaign was to begin later.

The story of events to unfold will be based on reports from the [Solidarity weekly] TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, supporting Walesa's candidacy, and GAZETA WYBORCZA, which stood by Walesa's main rival, as it then seemed, Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Gentlemen Dispute Facts

In GAZETA WYBORCZA reports, the question of anti-Semitism received far more attention than in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. This was, to a degree, due to objective reasons: As a daily newspaper, GAZETA was able to react to each occurrence in a timely manner. However, the question of political options seems to have been more important for GAZETA and its chief editor, Adam Michnik. Walesa's use of anti-Semitic rhethoric was one of the reasons for contending his candidacy. TYGODNIK, by contrast, viewed the role of anti-Semitism in the campaign as marginal and saw the exposure it had been given as a political maneuver designed to unfairly discredit the candidacy of the Solidarity leader.

Therefore, if, as Jerzy Mikke noted in TYGODNIK as early as July, Western journalists in writing of the debate in Poland are encouraged to remind their readers of our nationalism, the stars of David spray-painted on walls here and there, and Walesa's populist and Peronist inclinations, that is all nice and dandy, congratulations (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 13 July 1990).

Michnik's approach is markedly different. In his editorial discourse titled "Why I Will Not Vote for Lech Walesa," Michnik wrote: "Lech Walesa—I can say this on the basis of the sound personal knowledge I have of him—never was a populist or an anti-Semite. Both of these were idiocies to him. Nevertheless, because of his nonsensical remarks about "eggheads" and the discrimination he made between Jews and non-Jews, he has

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paid homage to advocates of anti-intellectual populism and anti-Semitic phobia. These people will now support Walesa's drive toward the presidency. In what direction do we want to head?

Would we rather head toward a Europe of modern democratic standards, or, conversely, do we prefer to turn back to tradition, symbolized by authoritarian regimes, the inferno of ethnic conflict, schoolroom ghettos of creed, and the excesses of religious intolerance? (GAZETA, 27 October 1990).

Thus, what caused both sides to differ was not their assessment of facts but their understanding of what they recognized as facts. The electoral campaign was to soon clear up the picture by daily supplying an increasing number of facts.

At the beginning of September, some unidentified persons wrote "A good Jew is a dead Jew" on the wall of the Umschlagplatz monument in Warsaw, the site from which 350,000 Jews were deported by the Germans during the war to the Treblinka death camp. Minister Aleksander Hall laid some flowers at the desecrated monument on behalf of the government, expressed his personal indignation, and vowed there would be increased police protection of Jewish monuments. He also thought it appropriate to caution against...speaking of an upsurge of anti-Semitism in Poland.

It took municipal authorities 48 hours to determine who was responsible for removing paint from the monument, and a clerk from the district office expressed surprise that one inscription on a wall could have caused such a stir. The extra surveillance promised by the minister never materialized, and new anti-Semitic writing on a monument, on the synagogue, and on the Jewish Theatre aroused nobody's interest or indignation this time.

At the beginning of November, a group of a dozen or so people stormed the building of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Windows were smashed and attempts made to force the door. Though the incident lasted almost an hour, the police did not intervene, despite the fact that Municipal Police Headquarters is barely several hundred meters from the institute. When a week later, after another assault on the institute, the police arrived too late this time and were unable to stop the perpetrators, the institute decided to hire private security guards. The only newspaper to report these incidents was GAZETA—in the form of brief, comment-free news items printed in the local section. Similar acts of vandalism in provincial towns were never reported in the central press.

For years it has been common for Jewish relics to be devastated—synagogues, cemeteries, clubs—especially those not used or inadequately guarded. Yet the incidents in Warsaw were indicative of the perpetrators' unprecedented violence and flagrancy. Even more alarming was the failure of public opinion and state institutions to react to what had happened, thereby sanctioning the impunity of those involved. It is worth noting that when, as in Krakow in October during the Jewish culture festival, police openly prepared for attacks from skinheads, no incidents were observed. It would be difficult not to link this atmosphere of specific tolerance to the course of the election campaign, in which the Jewish question played an increasingly significant role.

Israel Thanks Walesa

The entire issue was almost exclusively limited to the contest between Walesa and Mazowiecki. Presidential candidates who, like Boleslaw Tejkowski, advocated a flagrantly anti-Semitic program were unable to gather the necessary 100,00 signatures of support.

The remaining four registered candidates did not rely on anti-Semitic rhethoric, nor did they criticize it or fall victim to it. Stanislaw Tyminski was the only exception, appearing in the role of a prejudiced, anti-Semitic National Democratic activist at his last rally before the second round of the election. This exception, however, only confirms the rule. Facts clearly show that, if anti-Semitism was used in the campaign, it was purely instrumental in character, and attacks directed at Jews were only a by-product of the campaign and not an end in itself.

This conclusion can be evidenced by the fact that the few examples of Jewish presence on the public arena were not used as an advantage in the ongoing campaign. A good example is the court decision to annul the sale of the PAST building to the Jewish Nissenbaum Family Foundation. The price for which previous (communist) municipal authorities sold the bulding was obviously underquoted. The case was not employed as an argument in Walesa's campaign, though in a very spectacular way it combined a number of features: financial malpractice with "establishment shady business dealings" involving a Jewish institution, and—in addition—the spillover was during Mazowiecki's term in office. Walesa's staff also kept silent when, in a statement for the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily, a representative of the Jewish Social & Cultural Society declared support for Mazowiecki's candidacy.

Before the Jewish issue became accentuated in the course of the campaign, an occurrence took place that could have radically undermined the credibility of accusations hurled at Walesa: of tolerating or even expressly promoting anti-Semitism. In early September,

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he met with Professor Shevach Weiss, deputy speaker of the Israeli parliament. Walesa assured him that he is not an anti-Semite, and the Israeli politician acknowledged that he had no reason not to believe him. The visit brought results: Within a few days, Professor Avner Shaki, Israeli minister for religious affairs, sent a telegram to the Solidarity chairman, saying: "We send our expressions of thanks to the eminent Polish leader for his brave and unequivocal position taken lately in opposing the resurgence of anti-Semitism in his country and wherever it may appear."

The telegram, however, was not exploited for propaganda purposes by Walesa's staff; there was only a brief note in TYGODNIK. One can surmise that there was fear as to the reaction of the anti-Semitically disposed part of the electorate to news that the Solidarity chairman had received support from the Jews in Israel. Perhaps it was even part of a more general plan to avoid any mental association between Walesa and the Jews (because there were also anti-Semitic campaign leaflets directed against Walesa). And, furthermore, the discussion about the situation of Jews in Poland, conducted by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in mid-October, was published only after the election. The full text of Shaki's telegram and the story behind it similarly appeared in print later, in Jaroslaw Kurski's book *The Leader*.

On 5 October 1990, Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced his candidacy, and the election campaign gained full momentum. When signs of anti-Semitic reaction from the public at Walesa rallies first came to the fore, organizers were confused. It was, at the time, also the first instance of a public prosecutor's investigation in which an inquiry was held into the distribution of leaflets with anti-Semitic rhymes. The case involved the Society of Victims of the Third Reich activists from Lublin: Edward Dworak and Mieczyslaw Janasz.

The rhymes were quite harmless by Polish standards, and could even be seen as satire pointed at anti-Semites:

"Few may yet knowThat Balcerowicz and Mr. HallTogether with Lewin and ShechterWant Poland called 'Judental.'"

(Quote from GAZETA, 15 October 1990)

The Society of Victims of the Third Reich is an organization dating back to communist times. Janasz, it might be added, was soon thereafter arrested on charges related to the investigation of criminal practices of the interior ministry (the "Iron" affair). The proceedings against them confirmed the theory that "communism" is responsible for anti-Semitism and all other evils.

Yet the possibilities for the ancien regime to exert a propaganda influence on society remained limited, and it was pointless to seek the source of present-day legimatization of anti-Semitism in public life.

There Is No Way of Knowing Who Rules

The Jewish theme in Lech Walesa's campaign speeches probably cropped up in response to questions and shouting from his audiences. In Kalisz, after a statement from a female voter—"Let Mazowiecki and those Jews go to Israel."—the person presiding over the rally responded rather abashed: "You must be exaggerating."(GAZETA, 16 October 1990). Within a few days, during a trip to Silesia and Krakow, at six of the eight rallies held there, Walesa was answering such questions as: "When is he going to kick the Jews out of the government?" and listening, without comment, to such shouts as "Jews to the gas!" (GAZETA, 23 October 1990). Very soon Walesa elaborated a standard reply to all such exclamations and questions. A well-wishing TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC journalist paraphrased this response pattern as follows:

"Don't try to make an anti-Semite out of me. I repeat: I am not an anti-Semite. I want Poland to be free of anti-Semitism and chauvinism. I want Catholics, Orthodox Church members, and Moslems to live peacefully, side by side. Suspicion that there is a Jewish conspiracy is generated by the obscurity of the structures of power, when it is not clear who really commands power. When it becomes clear, it will be possible to see who was at fault in a given instance (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 9 November 1990).

This statement seems to accurately convey Walesa's opinions on the issue. He is not an anti-Semite nor does he approve of anti-Semitism, but he believes it understandable in a situation where it is not known who is who. When this is clarified, people will understand it is not the Jews who are in control and thus are not to be blamed.

The logic of the argument assumes, however, that one's Jewish origin is a political category, and, consequently, at least part of the responsibility for anti-Semitism should fall on the Jews, who, as Walesa had said earlier, "are hiding their origin". This origin is a political burden, so Walesa has repeatedly said he is "100-percent Polish," "Polish for many generations back," and that he "has documents" to prove that. (GAZETA, 23 October 1990)

Incidentally, the latter statement greatly agitated Prof. Weiss, who concluded that Walesa had contradicted his own contentions that he is not an anti-Semite. The professor publicly called on Walesa to withdraw his candidacy—and the case dampened Polish-Israeli relations. The response from the foreign press to Walesa's

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pronouncements was equally unfavorable and had a very damaging effect on his international reputation.

Walesa's statements coincided with a growth in activity of distributors of anti-Semitic pamphlets, who were not discouraged by the inquiry in the Dworak and Janasz case. In a "Studio-Foksal" television program in October, Aleksander Herzog, deputy head of the public prosecutors department at the Ministry of Justice, answered my question as to what steps were being taken to counteract distribution of anti-Semitic pamphlets by saying that prosecutors are not in a position to handle all cases and must receive notification of crime. A few days later, I showed viewers of the "Pegaz" television program a sidewalk book vendor on Aleje Jerozolimskie Avenue selling anti-Semitic publications, though Judge Cubala, the Ministry of Justice spokesman, who was invited to the studio, admitted that these publications are subject to prosecution but, due to bureaucratic procrastination, legal proceedings were not ordered until mid-February 1991. They were to be discontinued soon.

No surprise that these pamphlet distributors acted with impunity. Jacek Merkel, head of Walesa's campaign committee, when questioned about the anti-Semitic leaflets in support of Walesa's candidacy distributed in the Gdansk Repair Shipyards, responded by saying: "I am very grieved by this, yet this is, unfortunately, the price of democracy.... What are we to do? Are we to reinstitute political police to gag people?" (GLOS WYBRZEZA, 12 October 1990).

A simpler solution—for Lech Walesa to publicly and unequivocally distance himself from such supporters—was not, despite suggestions, accepted by his staff.

Don't Vote for a Jew

A rather natural consequence of the importance the topic of Jewish involvement received in Walesa's campaign was the widely popularized supposition that his most serious rival, as it then seemed—Tadeusz Mazowiecki—was in fact Jewish. This supposition was very widely believed.

An important role in spreading anti-Semitic rumors was played by some of the clergy. This was explicitly stated in an article by Jan Turnau, published after the close of the presidential campaign. He wrote: "Anti-Semitic stratagems are used not only by laymen but also by clergymen.... During the presidential campaign, these were practised from the pulpit itself, which, in breach of the position taken by the episcopate, was, at times, used for political ends in a truly pagan way." (GAZ[illegible] 19/20 January 1991) Grazyna Kopinska, who gathered signatures for Mazowiecki in front of a church in Stegny, reported that she had been told by parishioners unfavorably disposed toward Mazowiecki's candidacy that they would not vote for a "Jew," for "kikes" or "Moshes." In a letter published (16 October 1990) by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, it is worth noting, a Polish Jew who identified himself by the initials W.K. wrote:

"I spent two days standing in front of St. Stanislaus Kostka Church gathering signatures in support of Mazowiecki's candidacy. 'You Israeli lackey! Mazowiecki can make orders in a synagogue, not in Poland! We're voting for Walesa, a true Pole and a Catholic!, I was told. There were also other people. They would come up and explain in a paternal way that true Poles do not vote for 'such' people (indicating what they had in mind by stroking an imaginary beard). 'Jews want to govern Poland! The entire government is Jew-ridden!'"

The letter was followed by an editorial comment from Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the chief editor of TYGODNIK and a leading politician in Walesa's camp:

"There are things in our reality one would rather forget about but must not be forgotten. W.K.'s account brings these back to our attention with the full strength of personal experience. The pain it conveys is genuine, and all who wish for a democratic Poland will have to share in it. And there can be no excuse in the argument that it is but a minor case. Equally, there can be no doubt that the camp of Lech Walesa is the CAMP OF POLISH DEMOCRACY. And that his victory will most CERTAINLY not be the victory of those described by W.K."

The position taken in this statement is clear, categorical, and worthy of the highest praise. The point is that the assurance made in the last sentence had to be taken for granted, the reason being that TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC did not raise the issue of anti-Semitic overtones other than by refuting the charges or playing them down. The blaring of the problem of intolerance, one reader wrote in a letter to TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC (28 September 1990), "can primarily be viewed as a sort of political maneuver. An unacceptable maneuver not only on moral grounds, but also for purely economic reasons." In the published statements of intellectuals supporting Walesa's bid for the presidency followed by long lists of signatures, we read: "The postulates advanced by Lech Walesa stand in contradiction to charges made against him of adhering to opinions that are chauvinistic and discriminatory of citizens of the Republic because of their creed or descent." (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 19 October 1990) Andrzej Szczypiorski's remark that anti-Semitic tendencies are a marginal phenomenon in East Germany's social life was complemented by Andrzej Urbanski's ironic com-

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ment: "Marginal there, though here the very essence of the threat of dark forces." A dangerous margin, Teresa Kuczynska seemed to reply in an article by that title, delving into the subject of the anti-Semitc campaign of the would-be presidential candidate Tejkowski. (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 2 November 1990). TYGODNIK's only coverage of these issues were frequent statements from Walesa to the effect that he is not an anti-Semite and is opposed to anti-Semitism.

How, therefore, did TYGODNIK explain such facts as those reported by W.K.? In an interview with Jacek Maziarski, deputy chief editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, Janina Sluszniak, former head of the correspondence department at GAZETA WYBORCZA, said:

"The problem (of anti-Semitism in Poland) is of secondary or even lesser importance. And it is a problem artificially created, and not only by GAZETA. When there is only a story in the paper on this, people immediately send in their letters. When these are printed, even more flow in, in an endless stream." (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 23 November 1990)

It would appear that a problem that triggers large public response in the form of a host of letters to the editor is, in fact, one of serious magnitude. This, however, is not the conclusion reached by Sluszniak, Maziarski, or the weekly magazine he runs.

The Clergyman Warns, His Superiors Reserve Silence

GAZETA, on the other hand, treated the issue of anti-Semitism and the church's role in keeping it alive with all seriousness. The voice of Father Michal Czajkowski, who deserves special credit for his role in propagating Christian-Jewish dialogue, was particularly important. In an article titled "The Church Bemoans Indications of Anti-Semitism" (GAZETA, 27 October 1990), Father Czajkowski writes:

"Peaceful sleep do I wish those who see no signs of it (anti-Semitism) in Poland; yet let them not awake when it is already too late. True, the anti-Jewish outrage (writings on walls, leaflets, yells) is a marginal thing, though it is very loud. Even more annoying are the more or less hidden tones of xenophobia or anti-Judaism in the programs of some of the parties and lesser parties; the recently uncovered anti-Jewish connections between certain nationalistic circles and the former secret police are no surprise. Yet the most dangerous [factor] is one that is least apparent: the silent aversion to Jews (both real Jews and those considered as such) in fairly large segments of the general population, sometimes in people who are good or very good people. In this third circle, I also see the prejudice and propaganda of some catechists, preachers, theologians and prelates. These people no longer have an alibi."

The church hierarchy maintained silence, however. Although a pastoral letter on the subject of anti-Semitism was adopted in October at the conference of the episcopate, it was decided to postpone until January the reading of this letter in church so as not to "exert influence in the electoral campaign." The very substantiation is, in itself, rather odd, and even more so if it is noted how the church did in fact entangle itself in the campaign through the words of the cardinal primate by supporting Walesa against Tyminski in the second round of the election. Only just before the second round did the Episcopate Committe for Dialogue With Judaism issue a statement in response to voices concerned with growing signs of anti-Semitism in the electoral campaign (GAZETA, 3 December 1990). The statement condemned anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the single presidential candidate to fall victim to the anti-Semitic campaign, had already been defeated in the first round.

Defeated, without putting up a fight on this issue. True, it would have been immensely difficult, for what was he to do? Prove he was not a Jew? Condemn anti-Semitism, raising even more suspicion? It remains a fact that in none of his public campaign speeches did Tadeusz Mazowiecki address the issue of anti-Semitism, limiting himself to such generalities as appeals to "not yield to the surge of hate" and "invite the good in people." Only ROAD's National Board presented a clear position in this regard. In a statement issued on 29 October, we read:

"We see no sufficiently effective repudiation in Walesa's camp of the anti-Semitic insinuations against Mazowiecki that have appeared in the campaign. Mazowiecki's opponent in the race should make it explicitly clear he is opposed to such forms of electoral struggle."

The suggestion remained unanswered.

Proof of Being Polish

In Plock, Mazowiecki's meeting with voters took an exceptionally dramatic turn. To prove that the prime minister was, in fact, not a Jew, one of the participants of that preelection rally read out the obituary of Mazowiecki's father, a member of Catholic Action, rousing the anger of another participant, who went on to say, in a very commonsense way, that, if this is to continue, soon everybody will have to present such evidence, the cardinal primate included. Mazowiecki had in the past many times given proof of his repudiation of anti-Semitism;

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he was the author of a famous interpellation from the (Catholic) "Znak" parliamentary group in March 1968. After Cardinal Glemp's homily at Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa in 1989 (in which the primate spoke of the conflict with the international Jewish community over the Carmelite monastery in Auschwitz—ed.), which enraged him, in his capacity as prime minister Mazowiecki received the Israeli ambassador as the first member of the diplomatic corps. He was now sitting speechless, his head bowed.

To illustrate the contemporary state of minds, let us cite the fact that, when the BBC reported the mentioned incident, and Radio Free Europe (RFE) failed to do so, telephones in the RFE Warsaw bureau immediately began to ring, accusing RFE of...concealing the fact that the prime minister was not Jewish. Terrified RFE reporters quickly had a fuller story broadcast on the air.

Bishop Orszulik finally spoke up on the issue of Mazowiecki's purported Jewish origin. In a statement for the [Catholic weekly] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (4 November 1990), the deputy secretary of the episcopate explained that:

"Mazowiecki has a family tree drawn on the basis of baptismal records that go back to the 15th century; the Plock bishop has shown them to me. But, generally speaking, it is morally dishonest to use that sort of argument. The instrumental dallying with anti-Semitism smouldering here and there for the purposes of the election campaign is regrettable and ought to be condemned."

Public opinion greeted this statement of the bishop with mixed feelings. In Warsaw, a joke was soon making the rounds that Orszulik had made out Arian papers for Mazowiecki. Inasmuch as the anti-Semitic innuendos were to influence voting intentions (and this is something that cannot be measured), it was already too late to reverse the trend. The prime minister's popularity had dropped sharply, while abroad there was increasing anxiety over the resurgence of Polish anti-Semitism. This view was, for instance, expressed by the American Jewish Committee in a letter to Lech Walesa (GAZETA, 21 November 1990). Stanislaw Krajewski, the AJC consultant in Poland, wrote in a letter to Lech Walesa, forwarded to him just after he took office:

"It is with sorrow and at the same time full responsibility for every word said that I must declare that you have had a share in the legitimization of anti-Semitism in Poland. This was due to your failure to immediately refute the suppositions that your opponent's origin or that of his coworkers may be an important argument in the political debate." (PO PROSTU, 28 February 1991)

In the meantime, the atmosphere at preelection rallies was becoming hotter and hotter. Not one of the statements made by Walesa in Suwalki, as reporter Pawel Smolenski informed ("What the Ovations Are For," GAZETA, 31 October-1 November 1990), brought as much ovation as a question from the audience read out by the speaker: When will you, as the president, rid the government of Jews who are threatening Poles and the Polish heritage?

The situation almost repeated itself in Mielec (GAZETA, 3-4 November 1990). Walesa answered as before, but the questions generated larger enthusiasm from the audience than Walesa's response. Tolerance for anti-Semitism had brought results.

The nastiest emotions raised by the Walesa campaign are those of anti-Semitism, Ernest Skalski commented in GAZETA (13 November 1990). They are marginal, one could well agree, though that margin is wide and projects an image of Poland that can only be compared with that dating back to 1968. It must be clearly said that Walesa did not bring about this upsurge. Nevertheless, he has repeatedly emphasized that he is for generations of purely Polish descent. It is important therefore, if, viewed from this perspective, all of his forefathers were OK.

These raised emotions were vented not only at rallies. We learn from the communique of the plenipotentiary of the Center Accord for Pinczow and the Pinczow region (GAZETA, 13 November 1990) that:

"We true Poles, having seen what is happening in Poland, must now aim to speed up the elections. We already know who is on our side and who isn't. Governing power must fall to the hands of true Poles-Christians, and so the electoral struggle will be led in a tough and steadfast manner—till mortal combat."

The cited articles by Michnik and Skalski were the only ones to present the problem of anti-Semitism as a political question. This problem was virtually nonexistent in over a dozen serious political analyses or prognoses published during the campaign in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and GAZETA. The gap between political reality in Poland and its reflection in press coverage was striking—and difficult to explain. There are two possible hypotheses that may explain this: Either the authors of the articles actually thought anti-Semitism was a marginal and insignificant phenomenon, or they lacked the cognitive instruments to explain these circumstances. I am inclined to believe that the second contingency is true.

"When, in the first days of martial law, I saw a Star of David sprayed on a Solidarity poster, I had no doubt

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who was behind this; nobody did," Ewa Berberyusz wrote in an article in GAZETA (20 November 1990). "Who is responsible has now become hazy and unclear; press reports of anti-Semitic rampage are obscure and have left normal people stupified. We have disappointed as journalists. We have ceased to be an independent source of information in this campaign, one that would help the electorate make out what the situation actually is."

An Appeal Left With No Answer

The situation was, in fact, grave. It was a view two legendary Home Army soldiers, Jan Karski and Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, publicly voiced—first in a dramatic statement read by Nowak before television cameras and then published in GAZETA (22 November 1990):

"What are we to say to the Jewish leader who was on friendly terms with Polish people and now, after 50 years, decides to visit his hometown, only to discover slogans on walls in Polish: 'To the gas with the Jews' and, in German: '*Juden raus!* [Jews, out!]. Can it surprise us that this man asks himself if he has found himself in liberated Poland or the Third Reich? Our friends are asking us why Poles are taking moral responsibility today for the Holocaust. How are we to answer if Nazi articles on racial purity are echoed today in the expression: 'a real pure-blooded Pole'? And when this name is denied even to those patriotic fighters of Jewish descent who fought together for Poland's return to the league of free nations and because of that paid the price of years of repression and imprisonment. We will be defenseless against those who wish to tarnish Poland's good name in the world if manifestations of anti-Semitism are not met with firm widespread condemnation. We are appealing here for such condemnation from social and political organizations, the media and the opinionmakers. As practising Catholics, we also direct this appeal to the highest moral authority of the victorious church."

The dramatic appeal did not bring the expected result. With no response from the people of moral authority, public opinion grew accustomed to manifestations of anti-Semitism. The moral authorities failed to speak up, in apprehension of the reaction of public opinion. The church, in turn, waited for the appropriate moment to announce the pastoral letter that had already been prepared.

The only one to react was Lech Walesa, though it is difficult to say whether it was in direct response to the appeal. At a rally in Zamosc, the presidential candidate replied to a voter request "to not have any of those kikes in the government anymore" by saying:

"I am convinced the entire world will scream today how anti-Semitic we are as a nation. My religion tells me of the chosen nation of Israel, and I respect the choice God has made. Only, and I mean 'only,' there are various politicians and people in that nation, as in any nation. And we have differences of opinion wth these politicians, and we have arguments with these politicians. Some make anti-Semitism out of this. But there is no anti-Semitism in Poland. There are hard feelings in Poland for the bad politicizing, for the misgovernment, the politicians from that nation, but there is no anti-Semitic grudge. It has nothing to do with anti-Semitism. I want this known the world over, that the nation is a nation that cherishes its faith in God, and God ordered it to view the Semitic nation as the chosen nation. And this is how Polish resentment ought to be understood. There can be no other way because otherwise we will simply desert our religion. This is how God decided it, but He did not choose the politicians. He argued with them, too. Christ was crucified by the politicians, not by the faithful" (GAZETA, 22 November 1990).

The concept expressed in this important (hence, quoted in full) statement is that there is no anti-Semitism in Poland owing to the dictate of the Catholic religion that instructs Poles to regard the Jewish nation as the chosen nation. However, there is resentment toward politicians of Jewish origin for their misgovernment. "We," most likely meaning Lech Walesa himself, among others, are at odds with these politicians. This arguing is justified as follows: Even God "was at odds" with Jewish politicians because they crucified Christ.

I Am Just the Same as You Are

I am convinced that Lech Walesa thought (just as Primate Glemp in his sermon delivered August 1989 at Jasna Gora monastery) that his statement was conciliatory in tone. Yet, in reality, it contains nothing but classically anti-Semitic rhethoric. The argument that Christianity does not allow for anti-Semitism is in complete contradiction to the historical evidence of the past 15 centuries in Europe. The claim that politicians of Jewish origin are to blame for all of the misgovernment in Poland assumes that Jewish politicians have governed (now govern) Poland, and that it is their descent, not their political goals, that account for bad government. There is no truth in this, even if we recognize that there was an unduly high proportion of Jewish-born politicians in the communist power structure in the Stalin period.

Thus, though the statement was intended to be conciliatory, it was, in fact, one of the most anti-Semitic pronouncements made by the candidate for the presidency.

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If only it were used as a basis for prognosis for the future of democracy—and Jews—in Poland, it would look rather dismal.

Yet Walesa is not an anti-Semite, as evidenced by the statements quoted by Kurski from people who have known him closely and for a long time. With Mazowiecki's election defeat in the first round, the entire issue disappeared completely from the Solidarity chairman's campaign. Even if part of the explanation was the closing of Solidarity ranks to offset Tyminski's electoral victory in the second round, it remains a fact that Walesa has so far, during his term in office, not given even the slighest shadow of a doubt that he will want to use anti-Semitic rhethoric. Replying to my questions in a television program titled "Difficult Questions," aired before the second round of the election, Walesa admitted that his statements on the subject of Jews had been "unfortunate", adding that "Jews do not have to make their identity known." The anti-Semitism simply dropped off from his campaign also because there he was no longer staging any rallies at that point.

Why did the rhethoric ever appear? The answer is, I think, fairly simple. Walesa did not contrive anything himself. He was simply reacting to the anti-Semitic cognitive stereotypes that were present in his own thinking and that of his supporters. These stereotypes, though certainly not a key issue for the overwhelming majority of Poles (as evidenced by the marginal support real anti-Semites have received), are nevertheless tolerated. By using the anti-Semitic rhethoric, Walesa proved to his audiences that he was their man. Surely Walesa wanted nothing more than to discredit his political opponents. The idea of hurting people only because they were Jews certainly never crossed his mind. Walesa simply never spotted the connection between the two. Unlike in Western democracies, anti-Semitism in Poland has not been stripped of its legitimacy. One can be an anti-Semite in Poland and still pass for a decent person.

After five years, there is unfortunately nothing in this conclusion that I can change.

Former Deputy Defense Minister To Advise SLD

LD1309193295 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The electoral staff of Aleksander Kwasniewski has reported that Jerzy Milewski, the former colleague of Lech Walesa, will be a defense affairs adviser to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate. Jerzy Milewski has said that he has agreed to present Aleksander Kwsniewski with his opinions on the subject of defense because he is ready to pass them on to all candidates.

[Correspondent] Jerzy Milewski was until recently deputy minister of defense and previously the head of the presidential National Security Bureau [BBN]. He was counted among the company of Lech Walesa's colleagues. Nonetheless, during the scandal concerning the Drawsko dinner between the president and the generals, he came down on the side of the then minister of defense, Piotr Kolodziejczyk. [passage omitted]

[Begin Jerzy Milewski recording, in telephone interview] As a former state official, I feel that I ought to give such advice to everyone who asks for it and reply to anyone who holds a serious post in the state. And, apart from that, here, undoubtedly, a very effective intermediary was Deputy Danuta Waniek [head of Kwasniewski's staff], with whom I collaborated in the Ministry of National Defense. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Jerzy Milewski will not hold an official post on Aleksander Kwasniewski's staff. However, it has been announced that he will participate in the next news conference given by the SLD candidate. [passage omitted]

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UDMR Head Condemns 'Anti-Hungarian Atmosphere'

AU1309165395 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "UDMR Considers Itself Betrayed by Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Csaba Takacs, executive president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], stated to the MEDIAFAX agency that "an anti-Hungarian atmosphere has been created in Romania, and this atmosphere is becoming stronger every passing day. The opposition parties find political capital in distancing themselves from the UDMR. The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] used to be on friendly terms with the UDMR, as long as it needed the UDMR. Without the votes of the UDMR, I do not know how many CDR mayors would have been in Transylvania," said Csaba Takacs. The UDMR leader thinks that "the avalanche of lies, attacks, and offenses" is being created by "an anti-Hungarian choir," which, "unfortunately, the opposition parties have also joined."

UMRL Demands Return of Nationalized Dwellings

AU1309170895 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Victor Ciutacu: "UMRL Asks For the Immediate Return of All Nationalized Dwellings"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The World Union of Free Romanians [UMRL], which represents "democratic Romanians" in 24 countries (including Romania), issued a declaration-appeal for the observance of the right to ownership in Romania. Quoting the Universal Human Rights Declaration and Article 20 of Romania's Constitution, the declaration-appeal considers that it is "inadmissible to continue to preserve the validity of normative acts (...) when they are at variance with the international provisions on human rights." In this respect, the UMRL asks that all dwellings confiscated through Decree 223/1947 be "actually returned" to their owners, as well as for "all dwellings (...) that have been turned over by various means to state ownership be immediately returned to their owners."

The UMRL appeal, forwarded to the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament, the magistrates of the country and abroad, journalists, and all Romanians "who care about the prestige of the Romanian people and about Romania's image," also asks that effective social protection be ensured to the current tenants of the nationalized dwellings, because "there is no freedom and democracy without the recognition of the right to ownership."

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Government Discusses Open Issues With Italy

AU1309161195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Sep 95

[Report by Suzana Kos on the session of the State Chamber Commission for International Relations in Ljubljana on 13 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The session devoted the greatest attention today to the open issues with Italy. Some members of the commission, among them Ivo Hvalica and Lojze Peterle, concluded that our foreign policy in this sphere was a complete failure, be it regarding the issues involving the Slovene minority in Italy or the problem of the option-takers' property, that is, the fulfillment of our obligations stemming from the Rome Treaty.

Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler was, among other things, criticized for not honoring the position adopted by the parliament for the negotiations with Italy.

The foreign minister emphasized that complicated relations with Italy are not a new problem. According to him, the problem of the option-takers' property is an artificial problem, which became a reality when our side indicated that it was willing to negotiate about it. We did not abandon the Slovene minority, the foreign minister said, we only wish that the regulation of its position in Italy would not be linked and, thus, perhaps stalled by the problem of the option-takers' property.

Our side is doing everything to get an outside arbiter to disentangle all the unresolved issues.

As for Croatia, the border commission is working at an accelerated pace. The representatives of both countries met again yesterday to prepare a new meeting of the prime ministers.

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Federal

Milosevic To Lead Yugoslav Delegation in Geneva

LD1409151195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—In the joint delegation that will take part in the negotiations on peacefully resolving the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina the FRY will be represented by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro; and Milan Milutinovic, federal minister of foreign affairs, the federal government decided today.

A statement by the Federal Secretariat of Information says that the decision by the federal government is based on the agreement between the FRY and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic leaders on 29 August 1995.

At the government's session today, which was chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic submitted a report on the peace process and the efforts to resolve the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

The federal government today adopted the basis for an official visit by the Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, Milan Milutinovic, to the Republic of France on 21 September at the invitation of French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette.

The government also adopted the basis for talks that the FRY delegation will have in New York during the UN General Assembly from 23 September to 6 October.

Milos Bojovic, a lawyer from Belgrade, was appointed public attorney.

Milosevic's Office on Progress in Holbrooke Talks

LD1409073395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0106 GMT 14 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received a high-ranking U.S. delegation led by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, which arrived in Belgrade yesterday afternoon. The delegation includes representatives of the White House, Pentagon, the U.S. General Staff, and State Department.

In the course of a lengthy and far-ranging exchange of views on intensive activities aimed at energizing the peace process and reaching a final political solution, the joint assessment is progress has been achieved on the path of harmonizing positions on outstanding elements of the overall political solution, which will very soon be the subject of direct negotiations between delegations.

The talks were also attended by Milan Milutinovic, Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, reads a statement from the Serbian president's office.

UN Asked To Prevent Croatian Aggression

LD1309222995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2207 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on Wednesday requested that the U.N. take urgent steps to prevent Croatia's further aggressive policy and ethnic cleansing of Serbs.

Kontic asked the U.N. Security Council to prevent the implementation of a Croatian Government decree which on an ethnic basis allowed the confiscation of property belonging to Serbs who had fled the Republic of Serb Krajina ahead of Croatia's aggression.

In a letter addressed to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Kontic said the decree on the temporary confiscation and administration of property, dated Aug. 31, 1995, was just another way to implement Croatia's policy of ethnic cleansing with the ultimate goal of eliminating the Serbs from Krajina and Croatia.

Kontic expressed deep concern over Croatia's destruction and pillaging of Serb property. He said the decree was in direct violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1009 dated August 10, 1995.

The resolution demands that the Croatian Government respect the rights of the local Serb population, including their right to a safe return, to leave or remain.

The decree is an unprecedented flagrant violation of the generally accepted rule of the inviolability of private property in case of territorial alterations, said Kontic.

He said it will have far-reaching consequences on the peace process, particularly for the return of the expelled Serbs from Krajina.

Kontic demanded that the council take urgent steps to protect the immovables of the Serbs who had fled Krajina and Croatia and property belonging to Yugoslav citizens.

He asked that the council extend the U.N. mandate in Croatia to cover the protection of Serb property until a final settlement was reached for the former Yugoslavia.

Kontic also asked that the council establish the obligations of the Croatian authorities for indemnifying the Serbs for all the property that had been destroyed or plundered since 1990.

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Federal Assembly Session Wanted on Air Strikes

AU1309150895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The chiefs of the clubs of deputies of the Serbian Radical Party, the Democratic Party, and the People's Party of Montenegro in the Federal Assembly held a news conference today. In view of the NATO bombing of the Serbian targets in the Serb Republic, the representatives of the opposition parties demanded the calling of an extraordinary session of the federal parliament. In this way, the members of the parliament would be informed about the policy of the FRY state offices at this moment.

'Incidents' on Albanian, Croatian Borders Viewed

AU1309122595 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 5

[Report by Milan Bozokin: "Strictly Controlled Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent death of one and the wounding of another border guard of the Yugoslav Army in the "Dejan Radanovic" border zone near Djakovica has drawn attention to the issue of the security on the borders between the FRY and its neighbors. According to data from the border command of the Yugoslav Army, there have been 40 border incidents this year, which is fewer than in previous years, so one is able to say that the situation on the FRY borders is mainly stable. But this idyllic picture is still disturbed by incidents on the border with Albania, and then with Croatia, and there is an unclear situation on the border with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM].

The FRY's border is 2,740 km long (1,750 km of land, 789 km of river, 50 km of lake, and 153 km of sea). In the last eight months, most border incidents—26—have occurred on the Albanian border. The most serious incident happened on 30 August when, at 1:15 p.m., on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, around the "Dejan Radovanovic" border crossing near Djakovica, around 300 meters inside Yugoslav territory, a terrorist group ambushed a border patrol of the Yugoslav Army and fired on it with automatic weapons. On that occasion, Private Darko Sretovic from Ribnica near Kraljevo was killed and Private Nebojsa Ivancev from Dimitrovgrad was wounded. After this monstrous attack, under cover of bad weather and poor visibility, the perpetrators of this hideous crime escaped to Albania. That is the second serious incident this year on the border with the country of black eagles and bunkers. The first occurred on 17 April at 5:20 p.m. at the "Gorozup" border post, when three Albanians attacked a border patrol deep inside Yugoslav territory with firearms and bombs used by their army. On that occasion one of our soldiers was wounded.

Demonstration of Power

Guarding the 332 km of border with Albania has always demanded a heightened degree of engagement of men and equipment. This all started after World War II. During the talks about a Balkan federation, from 1945 to 1949, the border was open, and 100,000 Albanians crossed into our country without a passport. They came and they have remained. In the 1960s and 1970s, that border was mostly peaceful, only to "boil" up again in the spring of 1981. At one time, 20,000 civilians were moving, in an organized way, from Albania to our country; they were forcibly prevented from crossing the border by an effective action by our border guards.

Last year Albania organized army maneuvers in the vicinity of our border, in an attempt to demonstrate its power. In that period there were three instances of firing from the Albanian side at Yugoslav territory. Last year, 684 attempts to cross into Yugoslavia illegally and 344 attempts to get out were prevented.

The FRY's border with Croatia is also problematic. Last year 24 attempts to cross it were prevented; Croatia also provoked 39 border incidents. That is fewer than in 1993, when there were 110 border incidents. This year the Croats provoked 15 border incidents and on six of those occasions they fired at our territory. The situation on the border with Croatia has deteriorated lately, because its troops have been provoking ours.

On the state border with FYROM, there are some problems because the border has not been defined. The army guards the so-called administrative, cadastral border, where it exists. In the Gora and Koviljaca zones, the border is unclear, because there are over 10,000 hectars of disputed territory. Border units of the Yugoslav Army in this region have never moved closer to the Macedonian border, believing that the two countries will settle the disputed issues through diplomatic means. Although this has still not happened, FYROM has started building things on that territory, apparently border posts.

Target for Illegal Crossings

There are frequent attempts to cross the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the FYROM illegally. Last year 3,528 people tried to cross the administrative border with the FYROM illegally, whereas this year 136 had that intention, but were prevented. However, this border is not only endangered by illegal crossings but also by UNPREDEP [[UN Preventive

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Deployment Force] helicopters. They violated our territory 24 times, but, after a meeting between the deputy commander of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army and their commander, the number of such incidents has been drastically reduced.

From the territory under the control of Croat-Muslim forces [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, there have been 10 incidents over the last year and 165 attempts to cross illegally into the FRY were foiled. Lately a large number of Muslim soldiers in civilian clothes have sought refuge in the FRY. The border units of the Yugoslav Army treated them in the same way as they did everyone else who tried to cross our state border illegally.

We have the least problem with Italy, with which we now only share a sea border. True, their submarines have violated our territorial waters three times, but there have been no other incidents. The situation on the borders with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania is also stable, since those states also do much to prevent border incidents and illegal crossings.

SPS Official Comments on Avramovic's Program

AU1309164895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Rajko Uncanin, member of the executive committee of the main committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and a member of Professor Avramovic's expert team; Professor Dr. Dusan Velojevic, member of the SPS main committee; and Dusan Djordjevic, editor in chief of Belgrade Radio First Program, held talks with the political leadership and main businessmen of the district in Pirot today. Here is a report by Radio Pirot reporter Zoran Markovic:

[Begin recording] [Markovic] The economic trends in Serbia and Yugoslavia, Rajko Uncanin said, addressing the businessmen of the Pirot municipality, cannot be viewed separately from the current political moment. The unjust sanctions are definitely a limiting factor for the national economy; however, the Geneva agreement created a new atmosphere which should be used for a speedier resolution of the currently pressing problems in the economy.

Despite the results achieved, the program of Professor Avramovic needs to be adjusted and in some chief segments also supplemented, Rajko Uncanin said. This primarily applies to the realm of the property transformation of capital and enterprises, rehabilitation of banks, which should be capable of following the economy financially and with credits, social policy, and stabilization of prices and preservation of the dinar's stability. Rajko Uncanin said the following about the period that is ahead of us:

[Uncanin] The period facing us—as I as a director often like to say—is simply time that requires rolled up sleeves, smart heads, and work around the clock, which will probably yield very big results and give an [word indistinct] impetus to the living standard of people, employment, and overall democratic development of the society. I believe that all this is within reach and I believe that our people are ready and willing to work and behave in this way.

[Markovic] Rajko Uncanin also emphasized that the adjustments to the program of Professor Avramovic would be very quickly spelled out and realized, because, as he said, any delay could have negative consequences not only for the economy but also for the personal standard of the citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Serbia

Demonstrators Protest at U.S. Cultural Center

AU1309200495 Paris AFP in English 1957 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 13 (AFP)—Several hundred people protested against U.S. involvement in the Bosnian crisis and NATO air strikes against rebel Serbs in a rally outside the U.S. cultural center here.

The demonstration was called by the nationalist Democratic Party (DS) as U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke held a new round of talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Holding lit candles, demonstrators shouted "Clinton assassin" and "Holbrooke go home" and burned a U.S. flag.

Banners slammed NATO air raids against Bosnian Serb positions, reading "NATO war criminal," "Genocide against the Serb people," "NATO plus Bonn = Nazis," "USA go home," and "Bill (Clinton) killer of children."

Demonstrators called Milosevic a "traitor" of the Serbian people and "Slobo fascist."

DS deputy leader Miroljub Labus urged the Serbian leaders to "withdraw from the peace talks until the end of the NATO bombardments."

The American culture center in central Belgrade is located near its French counterpart, which was daubed with swastikas earlier this week in a protest against French involvement in the air raids.

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NATO warplanes and cruise missiles have targeted Bosnian Serb military positions since August 30 in a bid to force the rebels to withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

Russian Duma Delegation Holds Talks With Jovic

LD1309222195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2201 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 13 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the State Duma (lower house) arrived here on Wednesday and expressed grave concern over NATO's aggression and genocide against Serbs in Bosnia.

In talks with a Yugoslav parliament delegation headed by foreign relations committee chairman Borisav Jovic, the Russian deputies said the plight of the Serbs in the Bosnian Serb republic and Yugoslavia was a humiliation to the Russian Federation as well.

Head of the Russian delegation Sergey Aleksandrovich Glotov said official Russian parliamentary delegations would visit the Bosnian Serb republic and Belgrade on a weekly basis because of the situation in Bosnia.

The Russian delegation expressed conviction that President Boris Yeltsin would eventually sign bills on lifting the international sanctions against Yugoslavia and introducing sanctions against Croatia, which the Duma adopted in vast majority.

A continuation of the NATO attacks on Bosnian Serbs might destabilize the Russian government, said the delegation.

Jovic informed the Russian delegation of Yugoslavia's position on settling the crisis in Bosnia and its commitment to reach agreement peacefully. He said Yugoslavia was particularly concerned over the escalation of NATO attacks on Serbs in Bosnia, especially as they followed fabricated accusations against the Serbs. Jovic said it was clear the attacks aimed to improve the position of the Muslims, although everyone knows a solution cannot be arrived at by war.

Commentary Condemns Serb 'Opponents' of Peace

AU1409074495 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 95 p 2

[Commentary by H.D.A.: "The Serb Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After Alija Izetbegovic stated in Ankara on 5 September 1995 that "he would never accept any kind of a Serb republic or confederation," our domestic warmongers, the true opponents of all of the interests of the Serb people, partially through ignorance and partially because of their war profiteering, hurried to announce publicly that the Serbs across the Drina [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] had been betrayed and that the Serb Republic would never come about.... There is the impression that they wanted the peace negotiations to fail and the Serb Republic to be abandoned, provided that they could blame the Belgrade regime for it.

Only three days later, on 8 September, the foreign ministers of the FRY, Croatia, and the Sarajevo government agreed to the basic principles for the partition of Bosnia.

There is no longer any doubt that Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities, the Muslim-Croatian Federation and the Serb Republic. The Serb Republic has finally been accepted by the world.

It is no coincidence that it was already stated in the first reactions to the Geneva agreement that recognition of the Serb Republic by the five great powers, the United States, Russia, France, Great Britain, and Germany, which accepted the basic principles of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, secures the national interests of all Serbs and the victory of Slobodan Milosevic's policy of achieving a peaceful solution to the war crisis, which is in the interests of all three nations in Bosnia and involves the need for their equal treatment by the international community. This historic victory of common sense, of the patient and persistent efforts made by the Serbian president and all other powers for peace, will push even further into the background those supporters of the war option who have already prevented people in this region from living normal lives for such a long time.

Therefore we support those who say that peace has to be defended at any price. Especially since 8 September 1995, all sensible people are obliged powerfully to condemn warmongering and all attempts to undermine the peace agreement.

Let us repeat it once again: The Serbs can obtain their national interests only through negotiations, wise diplomacy, and patience.

We believe that the international community will be able adequately to evaluate the policy pursued by the FRY.

To start with, it is necessary to stop the NATO bombing of the Serb Republic, because it encourages those who would like the war to continue, the opponents of peace.

It is to be expected during the coming weeks that a peace conference will be held on Yugoslavia. For the suffering population it should finally bring an end to the war and the suspension of the sanctions.

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Montenegro

Bosnian Serb Refugees Arrive in Pluzine

LD1309124095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 12 Sep (SRNA-BETA)—At least 600 refugees from Foca (Srbinje) arrived in the border town of Pluzine [in Montenegro] after their town recently came under fierce NATO air attacks.

Ivanka Kojic, a representative of the Montenegrin commission for refugees, told MONTENA-FAX [news agency] that the "situation in Pluzine is dramatic."

Most of the refugees entered Montenegro via the Scepan Polje border crossing and others used other routes at their own risk.

Ivanka Kojic said that the influx of refugees has decreased over the past few days because NATO forces destroyed the bridges leading to Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Use of School Building To Settle Serb Refugees

AU1209133695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Although a week has passed since the new 1995-96 school years has started, the 664 Albanian schoolchildren of the "Mihal Grameno" Elementary School in the small town of Rahovec [Orahovac] have not started school, being prevented by the local Serbian authorities to attend classes in the school building. The Serbian-installed authorities are bent on using the school building as shelter for Serb settlers from Croatia. The Mihal Grameno school principal, Mr. Behar Vuciterna, said he had been trying to ensure that the 664 pupils attend classes in other school buildings in the town. This has proved difficult, he said, for the Albanian-language schools are overcrowded.

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